

FIFTY CENTS

DECEMBER 3, 1973

# TIME

## THE BIG FREEZE





## Spend a milder moment with Raleigh.

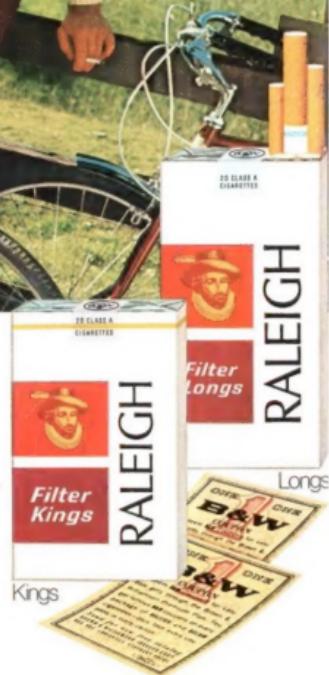
A special treatment softens the tobaccos  
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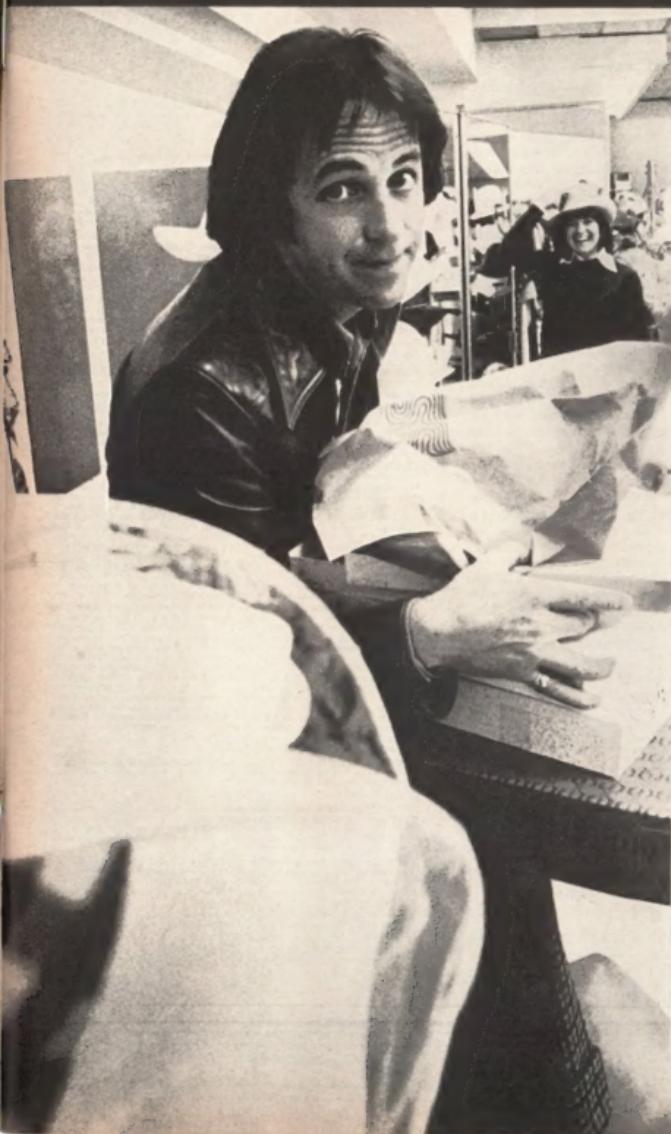
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Filter Kings, 16 mg. "tar," 1.2 mg. nicotine; Longs, 18 mg. "tar," 1.3 mg. nicotine, av. per cigarette, FTC Report February '73



Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined  
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

# "Know what I'm doing?"



"I'm getting my present auto policy checked, seeing whether my big car and little car earn me a lower rate, and I'm helping my wife, Marion, pick out a new dress.

All at the same time.  
Where am I?"

"At Sears. Where else?

"I was just talking to this agent over at the Allstate booth.

"And he was telling me that I could get a discount on my auto insurance just because I've got one full-size car and a compact.

"I never knew that.

"So he's over there right now, figuring out how much he might save me with Allstate's Big-and-Little Car Discount.

"Who knows? I may not save enough to buy Marion a diamond tiara. But this might help pay for her dress. And maybe lunch.

"Why don't you check Allstate, too?"  
(At Sears. Or an Allstate office.)

Maybe we  
can save you  
some money.



**Allstate**  
You're in good hands.

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Savor this holiday season with the whisky that's the best the north country has to offer. It's the light, smooth whisky that's fast becoming America's favorite Canadian. Imported Canadian Mist. For partying. To give. And to get. It's Canada at its best.

**Imported Canadian Mist®**

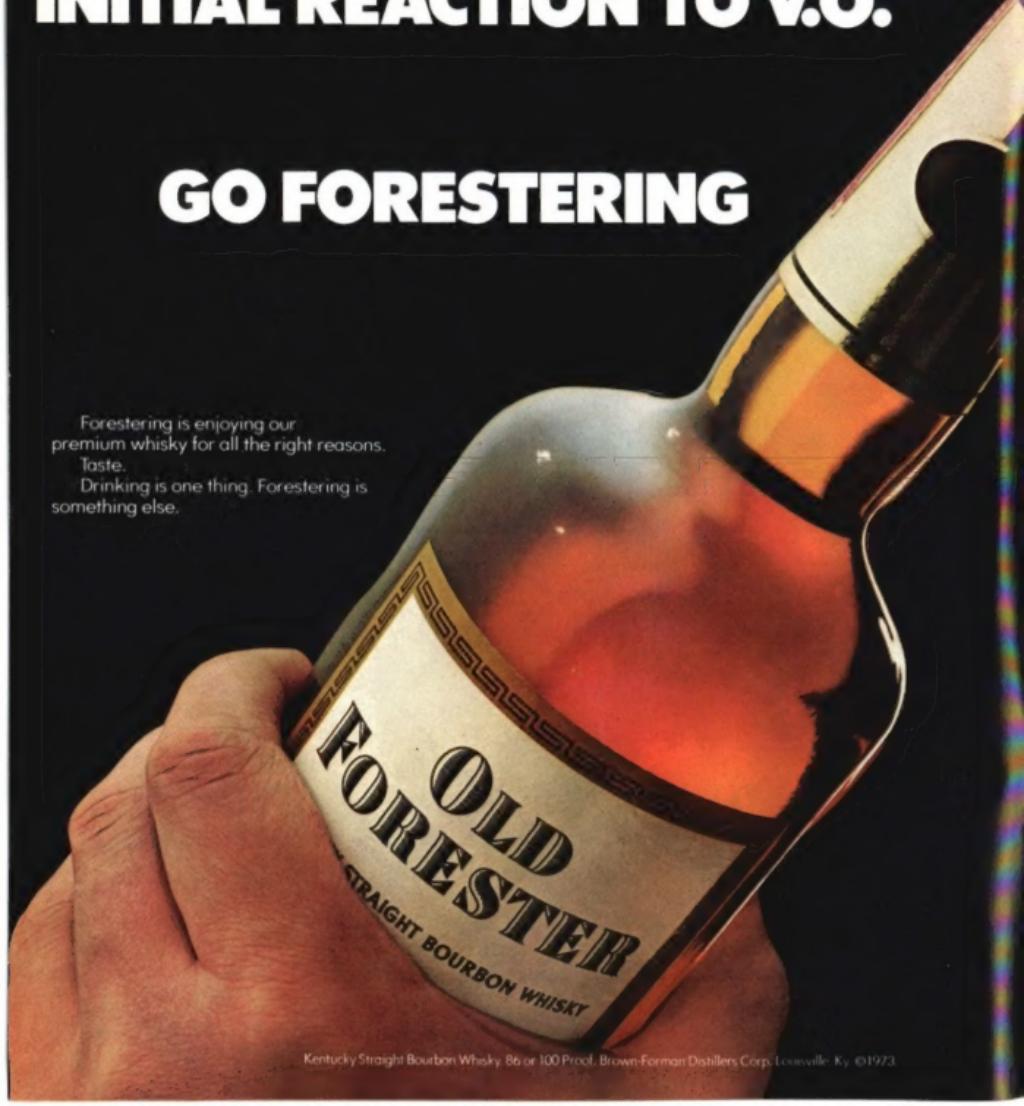
# **WHEN YOU HAVE NO INITIAL REACTION TO V.O.**

## **GO FORESTERING**

Forestering is enjoying our premium whisky for all the right reasons.

Taste.

Drinking is one thing. Forestering is something else.

A close-up photograph of a hand holding a bottle of Old Forester Straight Bourbon Whisky. The bottle is tilted, showing its label which reads "OLD FORESTER" in large serif letters, with "STRAIGHT BOURBON WHISKY" in smaller letters below. The liquid inside the bottle has a warm, reddish-orange glow, suggesting it is well-aged. The background is dark, making the bottle stand out.

**OLD  
FORESTER**  
STRAIGHT BOURBON WHISKY

Kentucky Straight Bourbon Whisky 86 or 100 Proof. Brown-Forman Distillers Corp., Louisville, Ky. ©1973.

**"The self-confidence you get spills over into every part of your life."**



JAMES K. FEILER, PRESIDENT • FEILER BROS. CORP. • SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

• Jim Feiler needed extra confidence to put across his ideas to other people. "As my business grew, I had a hard time communicating with my employees. We weren't working well as a team," he says.

"In the Dale Carnegie Course, I developed more confidence. It helped me to organize my thoughts. Then I learned to express my ideas effectively. Now, whether I'm talking to one of our people or a group, I find my ideas better understood and accepted.

"This same confidence, which I developed in the Course, shows up at home. It all adds up to the good life. Even my wife agrees, after taking the Course herself."



MRS. RITA McCAULEY, PHOTOGRAPHER • REGAL STUDIO • OZONE PARK, N.Y.

Mrs. Rita McCauley says: "I badly needed to build up my self-esteem. I was so self-conscious it was hard just meeting people, let alone talking to them.

"Through the Dale Carnegie Course, I found I could change my feelings about myself. I began relating to people. Now I'm confident and more at ease in both business and social situations. I can get people to cooperate and have them enjoy doing it, even in a business like photography where I deal mostly with men. I really feel good about myself.

"It's the same at home as in business. My children and I discuss their problems, face to face. We end up appreciating one another's opinions. I truly believe in the Course. I live it, so I know it works."

*Self-assurance is basic to human growth. You can acquire more of it in the Dale Carnegie Course, along with many other benefits. You can't be very far from the Dale Carnegie Course. It's offered in more than 1,000 U.S. communities each year. Find out what this unique Course can do for you—write us today.*



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## LETTERS

# How'd you like to call your fireman long-distance?

Call a policeman long-distance? Call your kids' teachers long-distance?

It could happen. These people could be forced to live a long distance from work. Simply because local housing is beyond their economic reach.

It's a real problem for millions of American families who live on an average income. Where are they going to live? Where will their kids grow up?

It's a real problem when a town adopts "no growth" policies. When there's no more building. No more new housing. No place for families to grow.

Such policies are often adopted in the name of environmentalism. But they always have the effect of limiting housing supply, forcing prices up, keeping people out.

Sure, it doesn't make sense to have growth at the expense of the environment and the quality of life. But no growth? At the expense of people? That doesn't make much sense either.

Growth should make sense. And it can. If each of us takes a reasonable approach to this complex issue that faces our towns today. For information about SENSIBLE GROWTH, contact your local affiliated home builders association. Or write to the National Association of Home Builders, 1625 L Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.



## Sensible Growth

Because no growth makes no sense at all.



# NAHB

National Association of Home Builders  
1625 L Street N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

### Opinion on the President

Sir / Your editorial calling for President Nixon to resign [Nov. 12] said it all, clearly and fairly. I hope the President will read it, will understand it, and will resign.

CLAUDE TRAVERSE  
Sherman Oaks, Calif.

Sir / The arrogant attitude and flagrant use, misuse and general abuse of constitutional and assumed powers to satisfy the daily personal whims of President Nixon and his seemingly endless stock of political geniuses are amazing. The only thing possibly more amazing is the number of Americans who continue to support the President simply because he is President or because their idle minds have been overwhelmed by one of his sentiment-laden speeches. For the man who used law-and-order as the pillar of his first campaign to now become the symbol of lawlessness is inexcusable hypocrisy, and to retain faith in him is absurd.

KEN CLOCK  
Lake Grove, Ore.

Sir / When President Nixon completes his term in 1976 with honor and history-making accomplishments, I shall expect a second editorial, unique in the annals of TIME, confessing error and pledging to go and sin no more.

ROBERT O. SNYDER  
St. Louis

Sir / I am sorry for you if you don't like our great President. I suggest that you get used to him, though, because he was elected by a landslide, and he will be around for another three years; he will not resign, nor will he ever be impeached.

GRAFTON M. COMEGYS  
Bethlehem, Pa.

Sir / Mr. Nixon has restored to the office of the presidency the true concept of that office. Perhaps for the first time since Woodrow Wilson, we have a President who does not need to rely on charisma, who has been able to overcome the cult of personality, and who has treated the office of the presidency as a true institution, not a personal extension. I am proud to stand beside him and to support him fully.

ROBERT M. LYNN  
Sterling Heights, Mich.

Sir / The press did not create Watergate, but it has created the "unprecedented crisis" which we are repeatedly told confronts us. Nixon's record in office is not perfect, but it deserves better than your statement "to allow a President with Nixon's record to continue in office would be a terrible circumstance to lodge in our history."

WILLIAM H. BECKEMEIER  
Tulsa, Okla.

Sir / I would rather have a strong, balky horse than a weak one that minds the whip. There are ways of making a balky horse respond. I hope that the President does not resign, but stays on to finish the job.

HOWARD BREEDING  
Palm Desert, Calif.

Sir / If we don't impeach Richard Nixon, we may as well burn the Constitution. It won't be worth the paper it is written on.

JOHANNA C. HOUNSCHELL  
Louisville

Sir / At the risk of appearing naive, I expect the leaders of our country to be honest, to possess integrity, to love freedom and



## They're still giving the government money the government wants them to keep.

They're people in business for themselves. Doctors, lawyers and shopkeepers who work twelve to fourteen hours a day to make a success of something.

Unfortunately, they're like too many people who worry about the future of their business, and forget they have a future of their own.

These are the people the government, and The Travelers, are trying to help through a plan called HR-10. It can save the small businessman money he would otherwise pay in Federal income taxes.

It's a tax break. A legitimate tax break, designed to provide a decent retirement benefit for

any self-employed person and the people who work for them.

Because the day will come when the man who runs his own business might like to slow down or step aside.

And when that time comes, he ought to be able to do it.



THE TRAVELERS

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**The computer that gives**  
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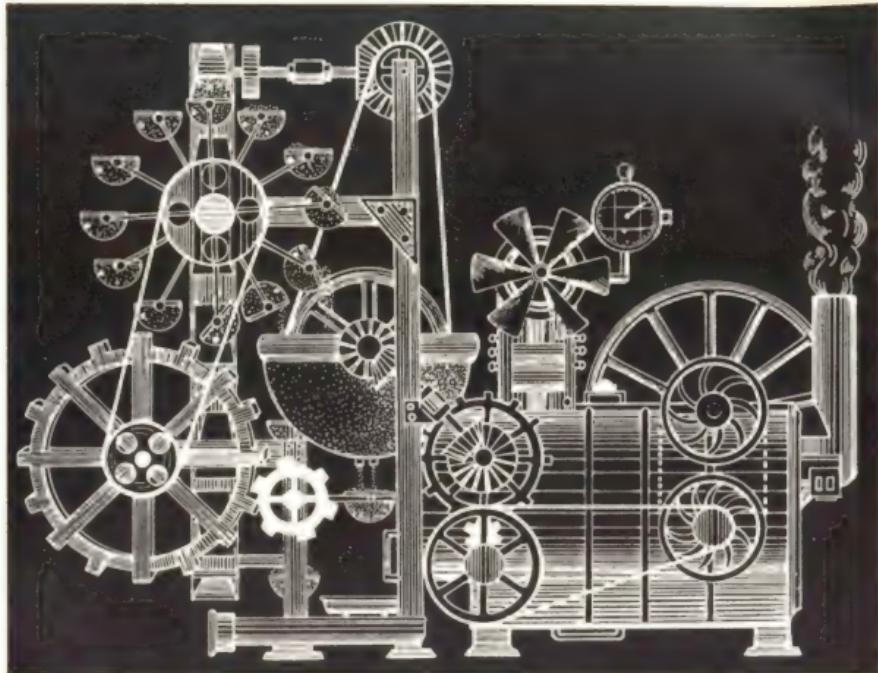
There's a company that wants to purchase some of your merchandise on credit. They want it delivered right away. And you want to deliver it right away, but you need to verify their credit standing. So you call Dun & Bradstreet to get the necessary information. And you get what you need. Now.



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All Japan Industrial Machine/Machine Tool Exhibition  
Metal Press Industry Show  
**Tokyo Apr. 18 - 23**  
Int'l Industrial & Engineering Materials Exhibition  
Modern Engineering Design Exhibition

**Osaka May 16 - 21**  
Industrial Machine/Machine Tool Fair  
**Osaka June 14 - 19**  
Int'l Anti-pollution Devices Exhibition  
**Tokyo Aug. 2 - 7**  
Int'l Metal Working Machines Exhibition  
Metal Forming Machines Exhibition  
Anti-pollution Devices Exhibition  
**Osaka Sep. 9 - 13**  
Mechanical Automation Show  
Industrial & Engineering Materials Exhibition  
Engineering Design Efficiency Exhibition

**Nagoya Sep. 20 - 24**  
Plastics Show  
Industrial & Engineering Materials Exhibition  
**Hiroshima Oct. 3 - 7**  
Hiroshima Machine Tool Exhibition  
**Tokyo Oct. 22 - 26**  
Audio-visual Equipment Show  
Health Apparatus Show  
**Tokyo Nov. 18 - 23**  
Int'l Industrial Robot Exhibition

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# No shaver advertising dares compare their shave with a Ronson shave.

Here's why:

Our micro-thin shaving screen is thinner than this page.  
So our 36 surgical-sharp blades cut closer to the whisker base.  
To cut as close as Ronson, you have to *get* as close as Ronson.

No shaver in America dares claim they can.



*No comparison:* A Ronson shave is unsurpassed. Because the Ronson cutting system is unbeatable.

We created the first micro-thin shaving screen, years ago. Now others have tried to copy us.

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### LETTERS

to safeguard democracy. I still believe such people exist.

If President Nixon does not resign, and we, the people, allow him to continue to rule, our epitaph might be: "No one was killed, just democracy."

MONICA O'REILLY  
Ruidoso, N. Mex.

Sir / You demand that the President do to himself what Congress will not be able to do: abort his political career. Your reasoning is contrived and specious.

WILLIAM WIGHTMAN  
Scheritz, Texas

Sir / Mr. Nixon should not resign. He should be impeached, and if this fails, leave him alone and let him get to work. Quit driving him up the wall!

J.J. ROGET, M.D.  
Belle Center, Ohio

Sir / Richard Nixon exhibits nothing but contempt, disdain, distrust and dislike for his fellow countrymen. More insidious, he shows a profound lack of understanding of their Constitution.

We cannot tolerate his excesses and continue to call ours a free society.

FELIZABETH A. CROWELL CHASE  
West Brookfield, Mass.

Sir / Since you say the jury of the people weighs Nixon, I want my opinion counted as a citizen, a registered Democrat and a regular voter. My vote goes for President Nixon.

I believe he is doing a good job keeping his mind on the Government in spite of the howling pack barking at his heels.

It is strange to me how differently we think here in the Midwest. Our air is clearer, so our minds aren't bogged down with smog and filth.

MRS. J.D. COLE  
Muskeg, Okla.

Sir / "But even if he were acquitted, the process would leave him and the country devastated." Upon this wholly speculative conclusion rests the validity of your argument in favor of resignation. It assumes that our Congress cannot conduct an impeachment hearing in a judicious manner. I voted for Nixon. Only by impeachment can I know if he is guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors. If he is driven from office, lynched as it were, there will be a festering wound in the land.

We can survive impeachment, but we cannot survive a President being driven from office.

DAVID ROSS  
Newkirk, Okla.

Sir / It's cruel to say "Let's all pick on Richard Nixon." I'm certainly not saying that. But he has been so blatant in his actions that it's almost as if he's double-daring us to impeach him.

One thing is clear. The President has brought all his woes upon himself.

BARRY FIEGLI  
Piedmont, Okla.

Sir / The only result of this editorial will be that the press can no longer complain about Administration attacks on it, since it has decided to choose sides and admit that it is an enemy of the President.

NELSON CAMPBELL  
Long Beach, Calif.

Sir / Our disillusionment with politicians generally is exceeded only by our fear of the awesome power of the news media. You can indeed bring this Government to its knees. We wish we could be confident that you will act in the interest of all of

**In the beginning,  
there is price.**

**In the end, there is cost.**

If you're a businessman, you know there are certain things you would never buy on the basis of price alone. And probably, way up near the top of that list is business insurance.

Employers of Wausau doesn't sell insurance on price. We sell on the value of our services.

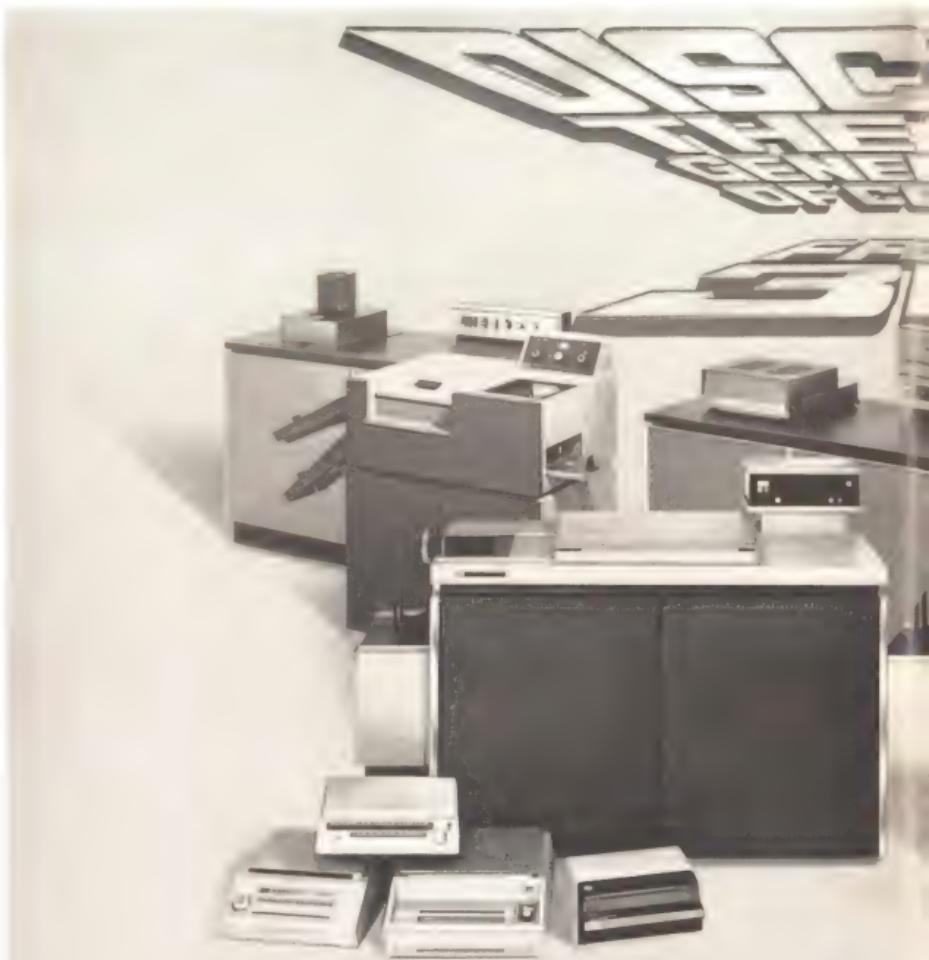
Those services are designed to help you prevent and control losses. And losses are what determine ultimate cost.

That's why we don't just ask for the chance to quote on your business. We want the chance to show what we can be worth to you in the long run.

**Come to the source**

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Wausau, Wisconsin





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After three years of intensive sampling and testing, Webb Resources Inc. and its partners decided that they had a gold mine on their hands.

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So, after some careful consideration, we gave Webb the advice and the money they were looking for.

And, as it turned out, both Webb and our Natural Resources men were right.

Now, anyone in mining can tell you that it's pretty rare for a bank to back a new gold mining operation.

But at least one company can tell you that it's even rarer for a bank to know enough about gold mining to understand a good thing when they see it.

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And know what you're talking about.



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## LETTERS

Sir / To suggest that the President walk away from his elected responsibility is not a solution.

R.A. TRIMBLE  
Pitman, N.J.

Sir / Your editorial reminds us that Mr Nixon was re-elected just one year ago. It seems like a thousand

TERRY O'NEIL  
Fairfield, Ohio

Sir / When Richard Nixon resigns, the people of this nation will breathe such a sigh of relief that it will create a cleansing wind sweeping the land, clearing away the dirt from his Administration.

MARIAN ESTES  
Portland, Ore.

Sir / I wish to commend you for your editorial. Your observation that the President must be held accountable for one of the most corrupt Administrations in U.S. history is the heart of the matter.

JACK MCRAE  
Mesquite, Texas

Sir / If you and those in league with you succeed in forcing the resignation of the President, you will establish a precedent that will plague this republic for 100 years. No President will be safe from the anger of the mob whenever he performs an unpopular act.

The security of the institution of the presidency from such pressure is the reason we do not have a parliamentary system in this country. The founding fathers thoughtfully designed our system in this way.

ROBERT F. LYNN  
Washington, D.C.

Sir / If Nixon resigned, the stock market would plummet, the value of the dollar would nosedive. America's international image would be more battered, the risks of

# MOVING?

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4 WEEKS IN ADVANCE

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## You had a 3 o'clock appointment with Mr. Bigg but you forgot it.

Mr. Jeremiah H. Bigg... irascible, impatient, tyrannical, and a down-right difficult person. Yesterday you could have had his business. And you forgot.

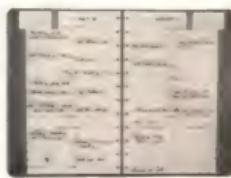
But Mr. Bigg will never forget. He's angry. And he'll tell everyone so, including your boss. And to think, it could have all been prevented had you recorded the date in an Eaton At A Glance Record Book or Calendar.

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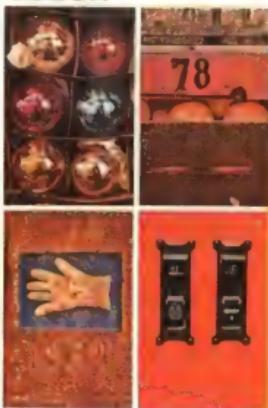
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## LETTERS

worldwide confrontations would zoom like it or not—as in marriage—we are stuck with Nixon and he is stuck with us.

GEORGE CHEBBA  
Bangor, Me.

### Man of the Year

Sir / I believe that almost certainly the 1973 choice will somehow be connected with the Watergate news stories.

Several natural choices come to mind—the burglars who started it all, the Watergate committee, even (perversely) the President himself—but one name dominates. TIME's Man of the Year should be Judge John Sirica, who believed in the law enough to seek out the truth, and who has defined "public morality" at a time when a definition was lacking.

BRENDA HINES  
Highland, Kans.

Sir / At this point in TIME, let me be one of the first to leak the names of John Dean (of the Squaler) and Daniel Ellsberg (the Stealer) for Men of the Year. Unquestionably, these two glib national figures left an indelible mark on 1973, thanks to their deification by a tendentious press.

JACK POPE  
San Francisco

Sir / I would like to nominate as Men of the Year three who gave the American people a passing feeling of integrity in Government: Archibald Cox, Elliot L. Richardson, William D. Ruckelshaus.

MRS. WENDELL S. MURRAY  
Whittier, Calif.

Sir / How about Billie Jean King for Man of the Year? Woman of the Year? Person of the Year?

MARY LA COCK GE TROST  
Columbia, Md.

Sir / I nominate the American homemakers for Man of the Year. She/he alone has suppressed rising meat prices with the only real tool abstinance!

REBECCA BELL  
Alexandria, Ky.

Sir / Here is a vote for James McCord. In an era of secrecy and deceit, only he had the courage to "tell it like it is."

RENNY J. SEVERIN  
Irving, Texas

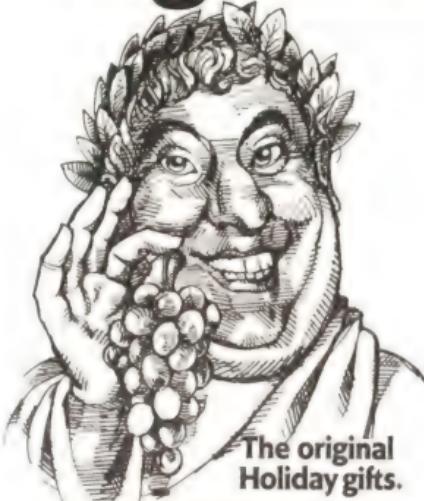
Sir / I nominate for TIME's 1973 Man of the Year the American reporter

CALVIN D. JOHNSON  
Ellensburg, Wash.

**Address Letters to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020**

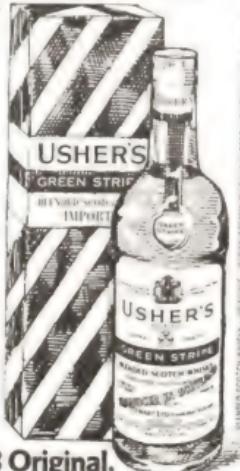
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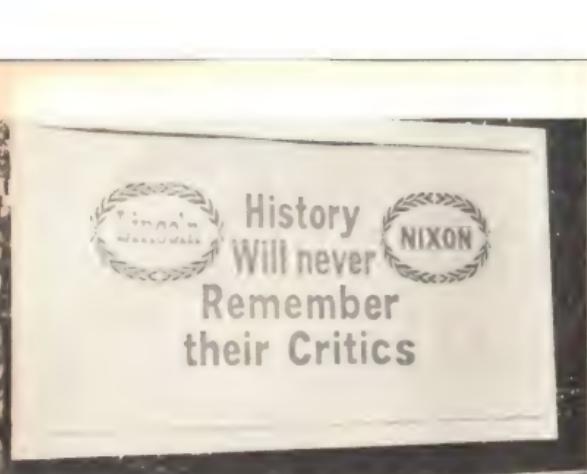
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NIXON ARRIVING AT GEORGIA'S ROBINS AIR FORCE BASE

## AMERICAN NOTES

### Misgivings

The traditional holiday had its ambiguities. A Thanksgiving meal for a family of four, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, cost 31% more than last year's. An expanding energy crisis presaged a problematical winter (see cover story page 29). In two New England states, Thanksgiving took particular lumps.

In Plymouth, Mass., where the holiday has been observed since 1621, disgruntled Indians insisted that this year's traditional Pilgrim-dominated celebration take long-overdue notice of who taught the English intruders to plant corn in the first place. The city's religious sermon was delivered by an Indian, and the town pageant did not feature the usual costumed Pilgrims carrying muskets—a historical falsification, say the Indians, since the 17th century Chief Massasoit by keeping his peaceful pledge to the Pilgrim settlers all his life never gave them reason to carry guns.

In Rhode Island, where the winning high school student essay is traditionally adopted as the Governor's official Thanksgiving proclamation, 17-year-old Mary Moran composed a sharp attack on "the absurdity of this holiday." Thanksgiving seems to be pretended, a farce, little more than an outdated tradition no one has yet found time to discard." Said a dismayed Governor Philip Noel: "I could not sign that as an expression of my thinking. Everyone in this country has something to be thankful for." He should not have been quite so dismayed, since Mary Moran's essay went on to express the wish that people would relearn "the art of thankfulness," by balancing their hopes against what they can realistically attain.

### Free Speech?

In the matter of rude receptions, Stanford University Professor William Shockley seems to be getting more than his share. Shockley, a 1956 Nobel Prize co-winner in physics, has over the past decade ventured into the fields of biology and genetics, disciplines in which he is not an acknowledged expert, to propound a theory he labels dysgenics. He defines it as "retrogressive evolution through the disproportionate reproduction of the genetically disadvantaged." One of its controversial contentions is that blacks are genetically inferior to whites in intellectual capacity. Another is that bonuses should be paid to persons with less than an average IQ who are voluntarily sterilized.

When Shockley tried to present his views at Harvard last month in a scheduled debate with Roy Innis, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, vigorous protests from the school's black law students' association caused the meeting to be canceled. An academic forum held recently at New York University condemned Shockley's views and denied him participation. Finally last week, a talk that Shockley was set to deliver at New York's Staten Island Community College had to be canceled when his appearance onstage brought prolonged clapping, shouting and whistling from a vociferous minority of the racially mixed audience. Shockley was forced to leave without speaking.

Shockley's views have been open to serious question all along, and other scientists have taken pains to discredit both the quality of his scholarship and the validity of his conclusions (TIME May 15). Under the First Amendment, however, not only does Shockley have the right to propound his notions, but those who would like to hear them are entitled to

The irony of the Shockley case is that a questionable, perhaps even pernicious doctrine is probably receiving more publicity by not being heard than open debate would give it.

### Kingly Thought for the Day

In the wake of Watergate, all sorts of cures, old and new, are being offered for the ills of the republic. While not quite a prescription, one arresting thought was put forth by the London *Economist*, inspired by the soothing pageantry of Princess Anne's wedding amid Britain's own current economic travails and by the disarray afflicting the U.S. The journal rightly divines that both the incumbent in the office and a good many Americans seem to identify the presidency with the country itself. When "we cloak a head of government also with the dignity of a head of state," that person will face "steadily greater temptations to breach the rights of ordinary men."

The *Economist* seems to suggest that if the U.S. only had a constitutional king who symbolized the nation, it would be a lot easier to dismiss Richard Nixon from the White House since the nation's image of itself would not suffer so grievously in the process. In other words, let politicians govern—and come and go if need be—but let kings embody the dignity of the state.

The idea is perhaps politically valid in a quaint sort of way, but was prettily well rendered moot for the U.S. by the unpleasantness at Concord and Valley Forge in the 1770s. All things considered, Americans prefer the stability of a system combining the functions of real and symbolic leader in one person and one office. It is part of the scale of the original American experiment, asking much of its citizens and those they elect.



CROWD SUPPORTING PRESIDENT IN MACON



ANTI-NIXON DEMONSTRATORS WITH SIGNS AT MERCER UNIVERSITY

## THE NATION

### THE CRISIS

## Round 2 in Nixon's Counterattack

Still pursuing his Watergate counteroffensive, President Nixon flew into Memphis and met behind closed doors with 16 Republican Governors. "Are there any other bombs waiting in the wings?" he was asked. "If there are, I'm not aware of them," he replied confidently. The discussion turned to the White House claims that some of Nixon's court-demandied tape recordings were "nonexistent" or of poor quality. The President quickly assured his listeners that all seven of the existing requested tapes were fully "audible."

Perhaps it was not a bomb, but the pin was soon pulled on a fair-sized hand grenade. Next day, reading nervously from a slip of paper, Special Presidential Counsel Fred Buzhardt told Judge John J. Sirica in a Washington federal courtroom that 18 minutes of conversation on one of those tapes was impossible to hear. It had been mysteriously obscured by an unwavering "audible tone." The President, Buzhardt conceded under questioning, had been told of this before he spoke to the Governors.

While Sirica scowled at Buzhardt and obviously struggled to conceal his irritation, the President's lawyer claimed that "the phenomena occurs during the course of the conversation—that is, not at the beginning or end"—between Nixon and his former chief of staff, H. R. Haldeman, on July 20, 1972. This was just three days after five men were arrested during the wiretap-burglary of Democratic National Committee headquarters. It was also after Haldeman and another former aide, John Ehrlichman, had been briefed on the arrests by

then Presidential Counsel John Dean. Dean, in turn, had already talked at length to G. Gordon Liddy, one of the leaders of the Watergate burglars and counsel at the time for Nixon's re-election finance committee. Fired Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox had sought this tape because he had advised the court, "this was the first opportunity for full discussion of how to handle the Watergate incident. The inference that they [Ehrlichman and Haldeman] reported [to Nixon] on Watergate and may well have received instructions is almost irresistible."

**Medium-High.** Buzhardt could not explain how the tone had got on the tape. He said Government technicians had been told about it, had listened to it, and could not account for it either. He had even allowed one of the prosecutors, Carl Feldbaum, to hear the affected portion. Feldbaum described the noise as a "medium-high hum."

In court, Prosecutor Richard Ben-Veniste urged Sirica to take immediate custody of all of the subpoenaed tapes. Buzhardt objected that several conversations not under subpoena were also on the reels containing the desired recordings. Unmoved, Sirica indicated he would order the reels subpoenaed if they were not voluntarily turned over to him by Monday of this week. He added sourly: "This is another instance that convinced the court that it must take steps to safeguard the tapes, to make certain nothing like this happens again between now and when we actually listen to the tapes."

The newest tape revelation was es-

pecially embarrassing to the White House, since it was the fourth recording promised to the court that now is claimed to be either wholly nonexistent or partly inaudible. Moreover, this tape is the same one about which Nixon's personal secretary, Rose Mary Woods, had testified in Sirica's court three weeks ago. She said she had spent 3½ hours trying to transcribe the conversation. While she mentioned various troublesome sounds, including bomblike noises when the President put his feet on his desk near a hidden microphone, she made no mention of such a large segment of conversation being obliterated by a persistent tone. If the obscuring sound had been present when she heard the tape, she presumably would have informed the court.

Technical experts consulted by TIME (see box following page) contend that the described sound could only occur while the White House equipment was set to record, not to playback. But if the sound was present on the original recording, it presumably would have been detected by any of a number of White House officials who have heard some of the tapes. They include the President, Miss Woods, Haldeman, Presidential Aide Stephen Bull and former Presidential Aide Alexander Butterfield. According to Buzhardt, the discovery was made only on Nov. 14, when he and another White House counsel, Samuel Powers, were cataloguing the tapes for presentation to the court. If the sound was not introduced in the original recording of the conversation, it could have been picked up during an attempted

## THE NATION

erasure or re-recording, the experts say. Sirica announced that a six-man panel of electronic experts, agreed on jointly by the White House and the prosecutors, will make physical and electrical studies of the tapes when they are turned over to the court. The panel will not actually listen to the recordings.

however; and it will work at an uncommonly leisurely pace, reporting their preliminary findings in January.

The latest tape debacle is certain to further erode public confidence in the integrity of the Nixon tapes. A Louis Harris opinion survey, begun after Nixon had started his series of talks with con-

gressional Republicans but before his televised question-and-answer appearance at the Associated Press Managing Editors convention, showed that 55% of the public still did not believe Nixon's claim that two of the tapes never were made. A plurality (47% to 27%) believed that the two tapes were destroyed because they would have revealed the President's complicity in the Watergate cover-up. More seriously, the percentage of Americans wanting Nixon to resign from his office rose to 43%, a sharp climb from 36% in October.

Those sharp setbacks came as Nixon seemed to be making considerable progress in reversing his disastrous slide in public esteem, and indeed White House aides are eagerly awaiting the next round of opinion polls measuring his standing after the televised Florida press conference. His scrappy performances had won wide praise from his audiences. One somewhat bizarre episode after the conference, in which he seemed to have playfully slapped a friendly bystander (see THE PRESS), hardly distracted from this. Though Nixon kept promising more evidence of innocence rather than providing it after he had met with the Governors, Oregon's Tom McCall declared: "I certainly believed him today." Added California's Ronald Reagan: "He couldn't have been more frank. All of us are going home feeling better."

**Fundamentally Opposed.** Yet the President continued to carry on his seemingly risky attack upon the credibility of former Attorney General Elliot Richardson, who had quit rather than carry out Nixon's orders to fire Prosecutor Cox. Nixon told the Governors that there was a "difference of 180°" between what Richardson had said publicly about opposing the hiring of Cox and what he had told White House lawyers at the time. Strangely, the White House still insisted that Nixon was not accusing Richardson of having lied.

Obviously puzzled at a similar Nixon assault on the integrity of Cox, Charles Alan Wright, the President's counsel during the tense negotiations that led to the Cox dismissal, last week refuted Nixon's version. While the President had claimed that the White House was unaware of Cox's total rejection of a proposed White House "compromise" plan on the tapes until the end of that fateful week, Counsel Wright told TIME: "We knew as early as Tuesday that Cox was fundamentally opposed on several points to the plan. It was absolutely clear by Thursday, or by Friday morning at the latest, that no agreement was possible."

After several White House advance men had worked in Georgia for more than a week, the President received a warm reception in that state. Some 10,000 sign-waving Georgians greeted him enthusiastically as he arrived at Robins Air Force Base near Macon. Many wore the Nixon straw hats that had been so familiar in his 1972 pres-

## The Case of the Telltale Tone

According to technical experts consulted by TIME, the 18 minutes of steady tone overriding conversation on a presidential recording raises the possibility that the noise was introduced during an attempt to erase or re-record that portion of the tape.

Prime authority for that hypothesis is a Government electronics expert and "wireman" who has carried out bugging and tapping operations for a federal agency. Familiar with the White House recording equipment, he told TIME that the tone could not have been accidentally picked up on the tape while it was being played back for listening or transcribing. Nor, he said, is it likely that the tone, or hum, was recorded during the original taping, since it did not blanket all of the conversation. For a partial malfunction, a plug, or electrical connection, would have to cut out accidentally and just as accidentally resume normal operation after an 18-minute tape.

That is certainly possible, but this expert found it hard to believe. Rather, he suggested, the hum sounds like "what happens frequently when amateurs try to tinker with a tape." The most likely circumstance, he contended, is that "the hum was recorded when someone attempted to record over the original conversation or tried to erase it." While that was under way, the hum could have been picked up from nearby cords carrying alternating current, such as those to a desk lamp, according to this expert.

Other technical experts consulted by TIME confirmed that the description of the noise suggested a typical 60-cycle

A.C. hum,\* which is not uncommon in unprofessional recording.

The White House used relatively small (11 by 10 by 4 in.) Sony Model 800B recorders for taping conversations in the Oval Office and the President's Executive Office Building hideaway. On such equipment it takes a malfunction, most commonly in a microphone cable, to pick up an A.C. hum, explains Irving Teitel, president of New York's Syntonic Research Inc. "This is quite common in portable recorders," he adds, "but usually affects an entire tape."

Another expert, Mortimer Goldberg, technical operations supervisor for CBS Radio, says that such a malfunction on an original recording would not create an overriding steady tone. "I've been working with tape recorders for 23 years and I've never heard the audio completely replaced by a solid tone," he reports. This would happen only during a re-recording, he says. Such a tone could be deliberately created with an audio signal generator (a device used to inject a desired tone to test or adjust audio circuits), but this could be easily distinguished, he explains, from the sound generated inadvertently from fluorescent lights or an electrical cord. Thus it would be a foolish way to make the conversation unintelligible. Re-recording a new conversation or erasing would be more feasible.

\*Normal U.S. house current alternates at 60 cycles, which is an audible frequency. It can be radiated through adjacent unshielded wires, resulting in a hum when one of the wires is related to an audio amplifier circuit.



SONY 800B TAPE RECORDER MODEL SIMILAR TO THOSE USED IN WHITE HOUSE



**WHITE HOUSE LAWYER BUZHARDT**  
*An irresistible inference.*

idential campaign. Nixon never mentioned Watergate in an airport speech, stressing his foreign policy accomplishments and the end of the Viet Nam War

At Mercer University, where he appeared to help observe both the 100th anniversary of the law school and the 90th birthday of former Congressman Carl Vinson, a small group of protesters detracted little from the President's rousing reception. Nixon's only reference to his troubles was a typical football analogy: "I followed the Falcons, and I guess you would call them the comeback team of 1973," he said. "They lost their first three and they have won their last six. I ought to have a talk with Norm Van Brocklin [the Atlanta Falcons coach] and find out how they did it."

**Finding Ways.** While there were signs that Nixon's comeback effort was progressing among his loyal followers in the South and elsewhere, his larger fate remained in doubt. As the tapes episode again demonstrated, he still has not carried out the promises of candor that he has so often made. Amazingly, Nixon's aides contend that he is still trying to find ways to make the tapes and other critical facts public. His critics cannot be blamed for wondering why it is so difficult to find the means to do so.

On that front, there is yet a fresh potential impasse developing, of the very kind that set off the Saturday Night Massacre. Cox was fired by Nixon for his refusal to stop pursuing White House documents through the courts. The papers Cox wanted included White House reports and memorandums on the Watergate break-in, the ITT affair, cam-

paign contributions, and operations by the White House plumbers; they were first asked for by Cox last July, five months ago. Soon after he took over from Cox, Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski asked for the same documents and gave the White House ten days to supply them. When the deadline passed

last week with no word from Nixon or his aides, Jaworski fired off a tough second letter, and he may well go to court if it produces no response this week. Should that happen, Nixon will be back to square one, exactly where he was before he fired Cox—fighting his special prosecutor in the courts.

## Murky Places in Operation Candor

With one exception, all of the give-and-take sessions in Operation Candor, as the White House dubbed Nixon's ten-day blitzkrieg to restore his credibility, took place behind closed doors. The exception, of course, was his hour-long televised press conference with the Associated Press Managing Editors in Florida's Disney World (TIME, Nov. 26). While carried off with panache and an almost hectic energy, that performance at many points was something less than candid. In fact, on closer examination, the list of some of the distortions, innuendoes and false assumptions by the President is astonishing.

Nixon said that he had "voluntarily waived privilege" on his tapes; what he did was obey two court directives ordering him to yield up the tapes. He said that he hoped a way could be found to get what is on the tapes out to the public; the court had already advised him that he was free to make public the tapes and any other material at once.

He implied that Archibald Cox should have long since wrapped up the Watergate investigations, since "the case was 90% ready" when Cox inherited it; the reason Cox could not wrap up his investigations was that Nixon would not provide him with the evidence on the tapes or in White House files. He said that the McGovern campaign, as well as his own, had received illegal corporate contributions; this could be so. But six major corporations have been found guilty of illegal contributions to the 1972 Nixon effort, while not a single charge of wrongdoing has so far been brought against any company for giving

ing to McGovern. He claimed that the law on political donations by corporations had been changed and thus the donors did not know their contributions were illegal; the law has been on the books since 1907 and was not changed.

He said that President Johnson had better taping equipment in the White House than his own "little Sony" recorders; so far as anyone knows, Johnson had nothing approaching Nixon's pervasive, voice-activated room-and-telephone bugging apparatus. He said that the nominal taxes he had paid for 1969 and 1970 were not the result of "a cattle ranch or interest or gimmicks"; but there is no way his taxes could have been so low if he had not deducted his interest payments on the loans and mortgages for his real estate purchases.

Beyond such misstatements, there is the matter of Nixon's gift to the nation of his vice-presidential papers and the tax benefits that resulted from the bequest. To begin with, Nixon said that he got the idea from Johnson when he was elected to succeed him. But Nixon had already given a batch of his papers to the U.S. in 1968 and was well aware of the procedure. In addition, in 1969, Congress was debating the law that took effect on July 25, 1969, making such gifts no longer valid as tax deductions. Though Johnson, who had just left office, had presidential papers that certainly would have been worth millions of dollars, he elected not to take advantage of the lame-duck law and did not deduct them from his income tax. Nixon had no such hesitation. He made the bequest and took the deductions.



**ANSWERING QUESTIONS FROM ASSOCIATED PRESS MANAGING EDITORS**



WORKERS SORTING MAIL IN THE OFFICE OF REPRESENTATIVE PETER RODINO

#### OPINION

## How the Nixon Mail is Running

Five weeks after President Nixon's firing of Watergate Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, the unprecedented outpouring of public protest that White House Chief of Staff Alexander Haig likened to a "fire storm" was finally starting to slow down—though letters from voters were still pouring into Washington offices at a high rate. A survey by TIME of Senators and Representatives, key committees in the Legislative Branch and Western Union indicates that Americans have sent over 3,000,000 messages to the capital in the wake of the Saturday Night Massacre. Examination of the most recent, especially those written after the President's counterattack began, shows a noticeable gain in support for Nixon, occasionally reaching half the total volume. But most counts are still running 70% to 80% against him, compared with at least a 95% disapproval rating in the days immediately after the debacle.

Perhaps the most telling indicator of opinion being expressed in letters and telegrams is the persistent refusal of the White House to reveal anything about Nixon's total mail, not even an estimate of how many messages have been sent to him. In all probability, Nixon received well over 250,000 messages. When public expression has been running in his favor, the White House has been quick to make the counts known. Thus, after his televised appearance before a convention of news executives in Florida, presidential aides announced that of 1,000 telephone calls and 5,000 letters and telegrams, Nixon was being praised in a ratio of 12 to 1. But overall figures are still unavailable.

Congressman Peter Rodino, who as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee heads the formal inquiry into Nixon's possible impeachment, has received more than 165,000 pieces of mail. His overall tally is about 95% against the President, but he estimates that in the declining volume of mail that has reached his office during the past week

or so, the share of pro-Nixon letters has risen to about 17%.

At the Senate Watergate committee, the volume of mail has dropped off sharply, from 15,000 pieces during the week after the firing to about 6,000 last week, but the writers have grown progressively harder on the President. In the first batch, 56% called for Nixon's impeachment and 3% were favorable to the President (the rest were unfavorable but stopped short of calling for his ouster); the most recent shows three-quarters in favor of impeachment or resignation and less than 1% pro-Nixon.

**Ouster Demands.** New York's conservative Senator James Buckley estimates that sentiment for impeachment-resignation in the 600 letters a day that he has been receiving declined from 98% at first all the way down to 50% recently. About 700 letters a day reach the state's other Senator, liberal Republican Jacob Javits. Though it is now running about 3 to 1 against the President, Javits' total post-Cox haul of 42,000 letters and telegrams includes only 4,000 voicing support for Nixon.

Democratic Senator Henry Jackson's mail has shown a slight retreat from ouster demands, which were running at 90% earlier and 75% more recently. At the office of New Jersey's Republican Senator Clifford Case, where Nixon has received support in less than 10% of all mail in recent weeks, his rating last week had improved to 20%.

Senator Alan Cranston, a Democrat from California, reports nearly a 10-to-1 ratio against the President in 35,000 letters, including one from a youth counselor in Whittier, Nixon's home town. "I find it a bit awkward to convince a wayward youth to be honest or just while our President sets such a startling example to the contrary," he wrote. A pro-Nixon letter from Newport Beach countered: "From the Viet Nam War through Watergate and calling Brezhnev's bluff, Mr. Nixon's full name should be President Guts Nixon."

#### INVESTIGATIONS

## The Staff Cox Left Behind

When White House staffers came up with yet another botched tape last week, they faced the attack of a brash and bright lawyer named Richard Ben-Veniste, who, at the age of 30, is the main courtroom performer for the staff of the Special Prosecutor for Watergate. After hearing that the tape was indecipherable, Ben-Veniste urged Judge John J. Sirica to take custody of all the presidential tapes in question to ensure their "integrity"—a request that the judge promptly granted.

It is Ben-Veniste and not the new Special Prosecutor, Leon Jaworski, who has been handling the courtroom duels with the White House lawyers over Watergate. During his three weeks on the job, Jaworski has been content to give plenty of leeway to the staff of 80 people, including 38 lawyers, that he inherited from Archibald Cox. In fact, the staff has become an important force on its own in the struggle to get to the bottom of Watergate. Several key members are determined to quit if Jaworski does not continue to press ahead with the investigation.

Along with their new power, the Watergate staffers have been emerging from their largely anonymous role under Cox to become public figures in Washington. For days, Ben-Veniste and



PROSECUTORS VOLNER & BEN-VENISTE  
Dueling with the White House.

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three other lawyers, including Jill Wine Volner, 30, impressed spectators and attorneys with the expert way in which they questioned White House witnesses about the presidential tapes. Indeed, Ben-Veniste gave the impression that he had memorized almost every known fact about the complex Watergate case.

The chief of staff under Cox and now Jaworski is sandy-haired, soft-spoken Deputy Special Prosecutor Henry S. ("Hank") Ruth Jr., 42. A product of Yale and the University of Pennsylvania Law School, he has had more than a dozen years of experience in law enforcement. Among his previous jobs, he served as an investigator of organized crime for Robert F. Kennedy's Justice Department, headed the Nixon Administration's National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, and directed New York Mayor John Lindsay's Criminal Justice Coordinating Council.

In his low-keyed manner, Ruth held the staff together after the Saturday Night Massacre. That very evening, in fact, he called a staff meeting and reminded the embittered lawyers that by walking out they could well waste six months of intensive investigation into Watergate and other matters. Ruth said he assumed everyone would be showing up for work as usual. There was a hushed moment. "Those who won't be here, raise your hands," said Ruth. Not a single hand went up.

The Watergate staffers now often put in 14-hour days, leaving themselves little time for socializing, other than dinner after working late or lunch on submarine sandwiches in one of the offices located at 1425 K Street. Only two members are over 40; several are in their 20s. About 15 of them were just finishing a year of clerking for a judge when they were recruited. Many of the others have served as state or federal prosecutors.

Most of the senior staff members are from the East, and their annual salaries range from \$23,000 to \$36,000 (like Cox, Jaworski earns \$38,000). To facilitate their work, they are divided into five task forces, each of which is assigned to a different area. The task force targets and their leaders.

**WATERGATE CONSPIRACY.** Since the resignation of James F. Neal in October, curly-haired Ben-Veniste has acted as head of the task force. Self-confident to the point of being cocky, he graduated from Columbia Law School and then took an advanced degree in law at Northwestern University before becoming an Assistant U.S. Attorney in his native New York. He prosecuted several union kickback cases and also the perjury, bribery and conspiracy charges resulting in the conviction of Martin Sweeney, onetime aide to former House Speaker John W. McCormack.

**ITT CASE.** This investigation—into whether there was any connection between ITT's offer of \$200,000 to the Republican Convention and the company's antitrust settlement with the Justice De-



WILLIAM MERRILL



THOMAS McBRIDE



JOSEPH CONNOLLY

partment—is directed by handsome Joseph J. Connolly. A magna cum laude graduate of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, Connolly, 32, has served on the staffs of former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara in 1967 and of Solicitor General Erwin Griswold from 1968 to 1970.

**DIRTY CAMPAIGN TRICKS.** Boyish-looking Richard J. Davis, 27, headed the probe of the efforts of Donald H. Segretti and others to sabotage Democratic presidential campaigners. Davis has also helped with the investigation of ITT. He graduated with the highest average in his class at Columbia Law School, served as clerk to Federal Judge Jack B. Weinstein in New York and specialized in corruption investigations as an Assistant U.S. Attorney in New York for a year.

**CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.** Directed by stocky Thomas F. McBride, 44, this group has investigated illegal contributions, including those by corporations, to President Nixon's reelection campaign. A Columbia Law graduate, McBride prosecuted organized crime as an assistant district attorney in New York City, then joined the Organized Crime Section of the Justice Department in 1960. Subsequently, he was a Peace Corps director in Latin America, deputy chief counsel of the House Select Committee on Crime and finally director of the Police Foundation, a private group that finances programs to improve law enforcement.

**PLUMBERS.** Headed by William H. Merrill, who at 50 is the staff elder, this task force is looking into the operation of the White House's undercover investigators. A resident of Detroit, Merrill graduated from Yale Law School in 1950, then practiced corporate law in Michigan before becoming Chief Assistant U.S. Attorney in Detroit in 1961 during the Kennedy Administration. Merrill directed investigations of mail



HENRY RUTH



RICHARD DAVIS

Watergate staffers with plenty of leeway.

fraud, organized crime, labor racketeering and tax evasion before returning to private practice in 1966. A Democrat, he lost a race for Congress that year and two years later, chaired Michigan Citizens for Robert Kennedy.

As a Kennedy Democrat, Merrill was a prime target of White House aides who claimed that Cox's staff was packed with liberals out to get the President. That criticism has died down recently with the departure of four avowed Democrats—Cox himself and three of his key aides.

The present staffers bristle at the suggestion that they are politically motivated. As it happens, Merrill and McBride are Democrats, Connolly is a Republican, and Ruth and Davis maintain they are "apolitical." Ben-Veniste, who declines to reveal his registration and who has been a prosecutor in New York under both Democrats and Republicans, says, "I'm against crooks of both parties." As for Jaworski, a Johnson Democrat from Texas, he has praised the objectivity of his staff. Says he: "I have complete confidence in their professionalism."

## CAMPAIGN FINANCING

## The Land of Milk and Money

During his televised session with newspaper managing editors in Orlando, President Nixon was so anxious to explain one of the potential scandals hovering over his Administration that he repeatedly invited questions about it. "Would you mind asking me about the milk?" he pleaded with one interrogator. When no one did, the President proceeded to ask and answer his own question. A 1971 increase in federal milk price supports, which added some \$500 million to the annual income of dairy farmers, had absolutely no connection, as many have charged, with campaign contributions from their professional organizations, Nixon said. The real reason why he ordered the hike in price supports, the President insisted, is that the Democratic Congress was on the verge of legislating an even larger bonanza for milk producers than the one he approved. Said Nixon: "Congress put a gun to our head." He acted only to prevent that larger increase.

**Another Round.** This week the Senate Watergate committee begins inquiring into that contention—plus a good deal more about the tangled "milk deal" than Nixon mentioned. From background testimony, court depositions and other evidence pieced together by TIME Correspondent Stanley Cloud, it appears certain that the President will have to issue yet another round of new and amended explanations about his conduct in the affair. Moreover, the scheduled witnesses include a one-time Administration superstar who has thus far stood clear of any Watergate shadows: John Connally, Nixon's Treasury Secretary in 1971-72 and a presidential hopeful for 1976. Connally's summons to provide testimony has already proved politically embarrassing to him.

The contributions in question came from political committees run by three dairymen's cooperatives, all of which regularly and legally supply contributions to friendly candidates and lobby in Washington for measures helpful to their members. In the 1972 campaign, the nation's largest milk co-op, Associated Milk Producers Inc. (AMPI), spent more to back candidates of both parties (\$906,245) than any other organization except for the political arm of the 14-million member AFL-CIO. Precisely how much the milk producers gave to the Nixon re-election cause is unclear, but it is at least \$527,500, or more than five times what corporate giants like Gulf Oil and Phillips Petroleum ponied up.

AMPI officials had backed Hubert Humphrey for President in 1968, and they thus felt a special need to establish relations with the victorious Nixon Administration. According to AMPI Attorney Jake Jacobsen, Jacobsen's Washington law partner Milton P. Semer got in touch with then Attorney General John

Mitchell in mid-1969 to ask how the milk producers might win the Administration's attention. Mitchell recommended that Semer see Herbert Kalmbach, the President's personal attorney and a key Nixon money man. In time, Jacobsen has testified, "Kalmbach said that he [Semer] ought to make a contribution, and he did make a contribution." Indeed he did. In August 1969, says Jacobsen, Semer delivered \$100,000 cash in AMPI funds to Kalmbach in California. The money was added to a \$1.7 million surplus from Nixon's 1968 campaign and was eventually used for a variety of purposes, including donations to



AMPI OFFICIAL HAROLD NELSON

congressional candidates in 1970, the operations of White House "Special Investigators" Tony Ulasewicz and John Caulfield, and Nixon's 1972 campaign.

The dairymen's prime goal was an increase in federal milk price supports, a level set by the Government through its own purchase of surplus commodities and other means that are designed to keep domestic prices high enough to ensure an adequate income to farmers. In 1970 the Administration raised support levels by 38¢ per hundredweight to \$4.66, one of the biggest such increases in the program's history. No one has charged that the price hike was any kind of payoff. It was not long, however, before the Administration provided some other goodies for the milk industry that did come under suspicion.

**New Money.** On Dec. 16, 1970, an AMPI attorney named Patrick J. Hillings, who is a former Congressman from Nixon's old congressional district in California, wrote the President a letter declaring that "the time is ripe" to impose import quotas on ice cream and three other dairy products—a perfectly normal request intended to cut the supply of foreign-produced dairy goods and thus force up domestic prices. But in the

same letter, Hillings informed the President that AMPI had been in touch with his financial men to set up "appropriate channels for AMPI to contribute \$2,000,000 for your re-election." Two weeks later, Nixon issued an Executive proclamation setting up import quotas on the requested products.

Further, despite the increase in price supports during 1970, milkmen in early 1971 decided that an offshoot for still higher prices was in order. Their efforts were firmly resisted by then Agriculture Secretary Clifford Hardin, hardly an enemy of the dairy industry, who argued that higher support levels would stimulate overproduction. But the milkmen found a friend in Connally. According to evidence given Ervin committee investigators by two AMPI officials, Harold Nelson and George Mehren, Con-



HARDIN (LEFT) GREETING CONNALLY

nally met with representatives of three milk co-ops—AMPI, Mid-America Dairymen Inc. and Dairymen Inc.—some time between March 12 and March 23, 1971. There is testimony that Connally told the milkmen that "new money will have to come" if they wanted to see price supports boosted, an accusation that Connally denied.

Several milk executives have testified that on the same evening or shortly thereafter they met Connally by accident at a small private airport adjacent to Washington's National Airport. Robert Lilly, the secretary of AMPI's political organization and one of those present, recalled hearing Connally say something like: "Go ahead with the new contributions because it's in the bag." Lilly has testified that he assumed Connally was referring, by "it," to the price-support increase. Again, Connally has denied saying any such thing. Whatever the facts, officials of the three co-ops agreed to divide AMPI's \$2,000,000 obligation among their groups, and AMPI made a \$10,000 payment to Nixon committees on March 22.

The very next day the dairymen finally had an audience with the man who was, among other things, the na-

tion's most notorious cottage cheese customer. Nixon and other Administration officials met with a dozen leaders of the three co-ops to discuss price supports. Later, the President held a follow-up meeting with Hardin, Connally and George Shultz, then director of the Office of Management and Budget, to discuss the milkmen's arguments. That evening, according to Ervin committee testimony, Connally met yet again with the co-op executives at a private home in Washington to go over the results of the busy day's events. According to a committee source, there is "multiple testimony" that Connally took part in a discussion linking the dairy industry's proposed contributions with White House policy on price supports.

Connally has testified that he cannot recall that meeting. He did have one

pensive than most of those being considered by Congress. Moreover neither house had actually passed a milk bill, making Nixon's claim about a gun at his head somewhat extravagant; and the President has rarely backed down on other issues because of the artillery against him in Congress. Finally the timing of the decision was curious.

Curious on the other side was the fact that early in 1972 John Mitchell's Justice Department charged AMPI with antitrust violations in a 14-state area, a blow that brought Connally back into the picture. According to participants in a meeting at Connally's office on March 16, 1972, the Treasury Secretary telephoned Mitchell (who by then had left the Justice Department to run the Committee to Re-Elect the President) to warn that the antitrust suit might jeopardize

## LABOR

### Nixon's Union Friend

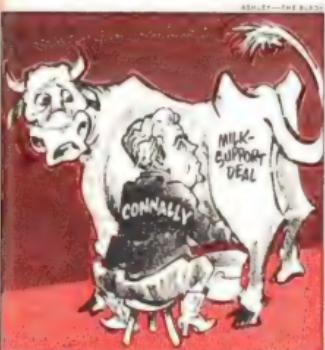
Last month when George Meany and the AFL-CIO at its convention in Florida boomed approval of a resolution calling for President Nixon to resign or be impeached, White House officials pointed to press coverage of the event as an example of distorted reporting. Not all labor leaders had supported the resolution, complained the White House, and thus the reports that the AFL-CIO decision was unanimous were misleading. The Administration's example of a pro-Nixon labor leader: Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers' Union and member of the 35-man AFL-CIO executive council. It was an example that may prove to be more embarrassing to the Administration than helpful.

Hall did oppose the resign-or-be-impeached resolution when it was presented by Meany to the executive session of the giant labor federation's council. He alone among the 31 members present at the closed-door, pre-breakfast session voted no to the proposal. Later in the day, when the resolution went before the 2,000 delegates to the convention, Hall sat stonily silent through the discussion and the floor vote; the resolution passed unanimously. Since executive sessions are held in secret and only the later convention meeting was open to the press, newsmen did not know Hall's position until the White House singled him out for praise.

**Widespread Practice.** Hall has good reasons to be fond of Richard Nixon's Administration. The President has been a supporter of record Government subsidies for maritime industries, which now amount to some \$1 billion for such items as direct aid to shipbuilders and reimbursements to shippers for the salaries of crews. But in addition to fostering the growth of the shipping industry, the Nixon Administration has been kind to Hall in other ways.

In 1970 the Justice Department under Attorney General John Mitchell indicted Hall and seven other Seafarers' Union officials for violations of the Corrupt Practices Act, which makes it illegal for corporations or unions to donate money to political campaigns. The case against Hall was strong. The Government reportedly had witnesses ready to testify that the union forced them to contribute to political causes, a practice so widespread within the union that the Seafarers' Political Activity Donation Fund (SPAD) was the richest such fund within the AFL-CIO and enabled Hall to disburse nearly \$1,000,000 in campaign donations in 1968. At the time of the indictment, union officials did not even bother to refute the charges. Rather, they claimed that the Government's action was political, as most of the campaign money had gone to Democrats, including President Nixon's 1968 opponent, Hubert Humphrey.

While Hall and his lieutenants wait-



"Sure your hands are clean, John?"

private discussion about price supports with Jacobsen, but at no time put things on the basis of paid-for favors. He said that in talks with the President he favored the dairymen's position but only on economic grounds.

Meanwhile, as Nixon pointed out, the dairymen were certainly not putting all their milk in one can. Almost immediately after Hardin began opposing a price-support increase, legislation was introduced in both houses of Congress aimed at raising the level substantially. Most called for an increase that would have pegged milk prices to at least 85% of parity, the idealized measure that has traditionally denoted "full prosperity" for U.S. farmers. The Congressional push, as the President noted, was led by Democrats, many of whom had received contributions from milk producers during their own recent campaigns.

On March 25, just two days after Nixon had personally met with the milkmen, Hardin announced that he had changed his mind: milk support prices would go up to \$4.93 per cwt., or 85% of parity. Thus Nixon has a dubious point in claiming that he saved money for consumers and the Government, since his own plan was no less ex-



AMPI OFFICIAL GEORGE MEHREN

ardine further milk campaign contributions. Connally admitted talking to Mitchell about the suit but not in the presence of the milkmen, and he denied mentioning the campaign money. Nevertheless, according to some of the milk executives, Connally asked for and got another \$50,000 for Democrats for Nixon, which he headed, and various state G.O.P. organizations.

**Censored Memos.** As with many other presidential controversies, Nixon could help substantiate his version of the story by releasing evidence that is stored in his files. In connection with a civil suit filed by several consumer groups, he has made public seven complete memorandums and turned over 24 others—six of them censored—to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for a ruling on whether or not they should be released. But White House Counsel Leonard Garment has maintained that 36 other memos requested by the consumer group and the deleted portions of those being held by the court are "central to the decision-making process by the President and his staff" and are thus protected by Executive privilege. Among them are memos on Nixon's face-to-face meeting with the milk executives.

## THE NATION

ed for the ax to fall, however, the Government unaccountably sat on its hands. Curiously, the Justice Department at the same time was preparing its case against United Mine Workers Boss Tony Boyle under the same Corrupt Practices Act. But while the Boyle case ended in prosecution and conviction, the one against Hall was dismissed by the court in May last year on the grounds that the Government had not pushed it in prompt fashion. The Justice Department did not appeal the decision, in effect simply dropping the case.

Just days before the 1972 presidential election, Hall provided a token of his gratitude to the Nixon Administration in the form of a \$100,000 SPAD donation to the Committee for the Re-election of the President. The gift bore a striking similarity to one Hall made in 1968 when the Democratic Administration of Lyndon Johnson rejected a Canadian attempt to extradite High Se-



SEAFARERS' UNION PRESIDENT PAUL HALL MEETING WITH NIXON IN WASHINGTON  
A no vote and a possibly embarrassing campaign gift.

farers Official Hal Banks to Canada on charges of perjury. Hall at that time immediately donated \$100,000 to the presidential war chest of Hubert Humphrey. In neither case was there any suggestion of prior bargaining between the Government and the union.

Still, the 1972 gift has some curious aspects. On the same day that the \$100,000 went to the Nixon re-election committee, the union borrowed exactly \$100,000 from the Chemical Bank of New York, though no loan should have been necessary if the money had come from voluntary contributions by members, as required by law. Moreover, the Nixon committee waited three months to report the union's contribution, though the law clearly states that donations must be reported within 48 hours of receipt. Now the one man singled out by the Administration as a friend from the ranks of labor may become embroiled in the Watergate scandal. Last week TIME learned that Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski's investigators have begun probing the Seafarers' donation to see if it was in any way illegal.

## REPUBLICANS

### Post-Mortems

After the triumphant re-election of President Nixon a year ago, Republicans were talking about becoming the new majority party for the rest of the century. After last month's elections against the somber backdrop of Watergate, some Republicans are wondering where next year's votes are going to come from. Though the party did not suffer a rout and there was no consistent pattern across the U.S., the more professionals examined the returns, the more it appears that voters, especially Republican voters, had decided to punish the G.O.P. for Watergate. Says Ronald A. Sarasin, a Republican Congressman from Connecticut, where the Democrats captured an additional 22 town halls: "Too many outstanding officials were defeated for no discernible

George Bush had considered running for Governor of Texas next year, but a glance at the polls convinced him that his party was too weak to put him over. Even though surveys showed him with a striking distance of Illinois Senator Adlai E. Stevenson III, G.O.P. Congressman John B. Anderson decided not to make the race because Watergate had dried up party contributions in the state. In Ohio, where the G.O.P. is having trouble finding local committeemen for the first time in memory, no credible candidate has come forward to run for the Senate seat that is expected to be vacated by William B. Saxbe.

Many Republicans who are planning to run for office are doing their best to disguise their Republicanism. New Hampshire Congressman Louis C. Wyman, who is campaigning for the Senate seat of retiring Norris Cotton, is playing down his party affiliation. "This seat belongs to the people, not to any particular party," says a Wyman aide. Wheelock Whitney, a Republican businessman in Minneapolis, is considering running as an Independent against Minnesota's Democratic Governor Wendell R. Anderson. Senator Richard S. Schweiker, a moderate Republican from Pennsylvania, has no plans to bolt the ticket next year, but he has already let the voters know that he is no friend of the White House. He began a recent radio interview: "Well, you know I was on the White House enemies list."

**Sorry Page.** Oregon Governor Tom McCall has made himself equally clear. "We're not going to be housemen for the White House and try to whitewash one of the sorriest pages in American political history." G.O.P. Strategist F. Clifton White has offered a campaign survival kit for Republicans. His suggestions include making a complete financial disclosure, accounting for all campaign funds, relying on small contributors rather than large ones, refusing to take cash and trying not to look talk or act like a politician.

The G.O.P. appears to be least weakened in the South—and in recent days, thanks to Nixon's foray there, perhaps strengthened. There were few resounding Republican defeats in the region, and a Republican, Mills E. Godwin, won the governorship of Virginia. In Texas, a November appeal to Republicans for contributions has so far drawn more than \$37,000—a much greater response than three earlier mailings elicited. Republicans believe that Democrats are scarcely in a position to make hay of Watergate. Muses Robert J. Shaw, a vice chairman of the Republican National Committee, "Can you imagine Lester Maddox, whose own closet is so full of skeletons, trying to get at his Republican opponent for Governor of Georgia on grounds of Watergate? No Democrat incumbent wants his own administration investigated."

Elsewhere, in their blacker moments, some Republicans conjure up visions of Stygian gloom. "It's hard to get

reasons to attribute it to normal local considerations. We must not sit back and think that the Washington situation had no effect even though it was so far removed."

The nation's top pollsters have much the same point. Addressing the G.O.P. Governors in Memphis last week, George Gallup said that the Republican Party was in the worst shape since he began polling in 1935. If the 1974 midterm elections were held today, he continued, so many Republicans would lose that the President could no longer expect his vetoes to be sustained in Congress. Louis Harris has reported that the Democrats would win the elections by as much as 53% to 31%. Watergate, said Harris, is further eroding the already shrunken Republican Party, which now makes up only 25% of the electorate, lower than the 28% listed as Independents and the 47% as Democrats.

Because of Watergate, many qualified candidates are hesitating to run as Republicans. "There isn't that old drive to win," says a Midwest G.O.P. state chairman. "There is no rush of new candidates." National G.O.P. Chairman



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## THE NATION

a handle on how the President's dog-and-pony show has been doing," says a senior House Republican. "There's a general feeling that the President's position has stabilized, but nobody knows." Republicans wish that their President would somehow leave office with the least possible commotion. A conservative G.O.P. Senator admits that he would hate to see the President resign "because it would set a bad precedent. But it certainly would be good for the Republican Party." There is, of course, an irony in all this that is not lost on many Republican leaders. It was, after all, Richard Nixon who separated himself from the party to enhance his majority in 1972.

## HISTORICAL NOTES

### Giving Them More Hell

While in the White House, Harry Truman once wrote to a music critic who had snickered at Daughter Margaret's singing that the fellow would be needing a jockstrap if they ever met. Now it turns out that advancing age and tranquil retirement in Independence, Mo., did nothing to sweeten the tongue or soften the wrath of the 33rd President of the United States. In a book appropriately titled *Plain Speaking*, to be published in February (G.P. Putnam's Sons), Truman displays all of his oldtime fire.

The book came out of a long series of conversations that Truman, then 77, had in 1961 and early 1962 with Novelist and Journalist Merle Miller during the preparation of a television series. The TV project did not pan out, but Miller, who has become a Gay Lib crusader in recent years, filed away his tapes and extensive notes of the talks. He explains that he just did not get around to doing anything with them until after Truman's death last December at the age of 88. Miller admits to never having told the former President about his plans to turn

their conversations into a book eventually, but adds: "I think he suspected I'd write it up some day. He was thinking about his place in history." From Miller's interviews, some of Harry Truman's blunt thoughts about the men who shared his times:

**DOUGLAS MacARTHUR.** Truman dismissed MacArthur as Supreme Commander in Korea for publicly criticizing Administration policy against expanding the war. "I fired him because he wouldn't respect the authority of the President. I didn't fire him because he was a dumb son of a bitch, although he was, but that's not against the law for generals. If it was, half to three-quarters of them would be in jail."

As for MacArthur's attempts to conduct his own grandiose foreign policy in the Pacific, Truman said: "I've given that a lot of thought and finally decided that there were times when he wasn't right in his head. And there was never anybody around him to keep him in line. He didn't have anyone on his staff who wasn't an ass kisser. Why, hell, if he'd had his way, he'd have had us in the Third World War and blown up two-thirds of the world."

**DWIGHT EISENHOWER.** Truman claimed that Ike was a "weak" commander during World War II, and that later he was a "coward" for not censoring Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy during his witch hunts for Reds in the Government. But what really ticked Truman off was a letter that he said Ike wrote General George Marshall, the Army's Chief of Staff, after the war asking to be relieved of duty so that he could divorce his wife Mamie and marry Kay Summersby, a British WAC who doubled as his driver and secretary during the campaign in Europe.

"Well," said Truman, "Marshall wrote him back a letter the like of which I never did see. He said that if Eisenhower ever came close to doing such a thing, he'd not only bust him out of the Army, he'd see to it that never for the

rest of his life would he be able to draw a peaceful breath."

Then Truman added: "I don't like Eisenhower. I never have, but one of the last things I did as President, I got those letters from his file in the Pentagon and I destroyed them."

**ADLAI STEVENSON.** "He would never understand how you have to get along with people and be equal with them. That fellow was too busy making up his mind whether he had to go to the bathroom or not. That fellow didn't know the first thing about campaigning [in 1952], and he didn't learn anything either. He got worse in 1956."

**THE KENNEDYS.** In 1960, when John Kennedy was running for the presidency, Truman recalled, it was not the Pope he was afraid of moving into the White House. It was the Pop. "Old Joe Kennedy is as big a crook as we've got anywhere in this country, and I don't like it that he bought his son the nomination for the presidency. He bought West Virginia. I don't know how much it cost him; he's a tightfisted old son of a bitch; so he didn't pay any more than he had to. But he bought West Virginia, and that's how his boy won the primary over Humphrey."

As for Robert Kennedy, Truman said: "I just don't like that boy, and I never will. He worked for old Joe McCarthy, you know. When old Joe was tearing up the Constitution and the country, that boy couldn't say enough for him."

**RICHARD NIXON.** Truman was especially incensed by Nixon's attacks years before on the character of General Marshall, a man whom the former President venerated. Admitting his hatred of Nixon, Truman said: "Nixon is a shifty-eyed goddamn liar, and the people know it. I can't figure out how he came so close to getting elected in 1960." Later Truman noted: "They say Nixon has changed, but they'll have to prove it to me. Where that fella is concerned, you might say I'm from Missouri."

HARRY TRUMAN WITH RICHARD NIXON (1953); KAY SUMMERSBY (1947); TRUMAN WITH MacARTHUR (1951)



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| ANSWERS:           | 35% |
|--------------------|-----|
| Brand A .....      | 14% |
| Brand B .....      | 11% |
| Brand C .....      | 5%  |
| Brand D .....      | 3%  |
| Brand E .....      | 3%  |
| Brand F .....      | 2%  |
| Brand G .....      | 2%  |
| Brand H .....      | 2%  |
| Brand I .....      | 1%  |
| Other Brands ..... | 3%  |
| About Equal .....  | 13% |
| Don't Know .....   | 11% |

#### How the survey was made.

For the second consecutive year, one of the best known research firms in America conducted telephone interviews with independent TV service technicians in more than 170 cities from coast to coast. To eliminate the factor of loyalty to a single brand, the study included only shops which serviced more than one brand of TV.

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"He's converting his Zippo to coal."

#### SHORTAGES/COVER STORY

## A Time of Learning to Live with Less

Heavy with cargo, low-riding oil tankers bucked through the windblown South Atlantic last week on their way from the Persian Gulf to Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, New York and other U.S. ports. In a week or so, they will tie up at their destinations—and the U.S. will enter a sterner, more painful new era of energy shortages. These huge ships were the last to be loaded before the Arab states blocked all petroleum shipments to the U.S. in retaliation for American support of Israel. The Arab move is expected to diminish by a disruptive 18% or more the minimum flow of fuel that the nation needs to run its industries and farms, heat and light its homes, schools and offices, and keep its cars, trucks, buses and planes moving.

Responding to this threat, President Nixon scheduled an appearance on nationwide television on Sunday night. He planned to order Government restrictions on sales of gasoline and heating fuels at the wholesale level and to urge limitations on highway speeds and a coast-to-coast blackout of all unnecessary outdoor lighting. The U.S. this winter faces a big freeze. Not only will many people be colder than they wish, but they will also be frozen out of using as much power and fuel as they might desire.

Interior Secretary Rogers Morton reports that shortages of heavy residual oil for public utilities and factories will begin pinching by early December. By January, Morton adds, home heating oil and diesel and jet fuel will be scarce, and a substantial drying up of gasoline stocks can be expected by mid-Febru-

ary. Charles J. DiBona, the Deputy Director of Energy Policy, warns that the heavily industrialized Northeast, which uses a great deal more Arab oil than the rest of the country, could wind up trying to make do with only half of its normal supply of home heating oil and struggling through electric brownouts and blackouts.

In fact, energy will remain scarce even if the Arabs relax their embargo. John A. Love, President Nixon's energy chief, predicts that it will be three to five years at best before world oil production and refinery capacity is increased enough to again bring energy supplies abreast of demand. The shortage, he said last week, will bring about "a change of approach to our life-style and economy," and the nation can no longer continue doubling its demand for energy every ten or twelve years.

**Cars Slow.** Unprepared Americans—as well as Europeans, Japanese and other peoples—thus have to face up to the flinty prospect of learning to live with less energy and paying more for it. Last week the Labor Department announced that living costs jumped in October at an annual rate of 9.6%, largely because of the rising cost of fuel. The fuel crisis threatens to reduce consumer spending, cut next year's expected real economic growth by one percentage point or more, raise unemployment by a percentage point or so, and lead the nation closer to a recession.

Reflecting the growing worries of Americans, the stock market fell more than 46 points in last week's first two

trading days, the worst back-to-back plunge since 1929. The market was probably overreacting, and it is badly oversold. Indeed, it rallied a bit at week's end, but the Dow Jones Industrials closed the week at 854—down 133 points in the past three weeks. Shares of General Motors reached a twelve-year low because gasoline shortages and price boosts will slow down car sales and lead to a shift away from the biggest, highest-profit cars. Shares of Walt Disney Productions, McDonald's and other companies that depend on the motoring public were mauled. The anticipation of lower consumer spending sent down such blue chips as Eastman Kodak, Procter & Gamble, Goodyear and General Foods.

Beyond its effects on American pocketbooks, the energy emergency will also change American political life. To meet the shortage, the President, the Congress and the Governors will be given more and more power to regulate private business and the personal lives of Americans.

The growing authority of Government was underscored by the President's new bundle of energy conservation measures. Using powers granted him under the Eagleton Amendment to the Economic Stabilization Act, which allows him to allocate fuels to wholesalers and distributors, the President ordered roughly a 20% reduction in the amount of heating oil that fuel companies can sell to distributors. The Government will advise—but still lacks the power to order—retailers on how to divide up the lim-

## ENERGY

ited supply among their customers. Suggested allotments to households will be cut by as much as 20% depending on the region's average temperatures; in addition a big reduction in allotments will be asked for factories, stores, offices, bowling alleys and the like. The reduction in fuel will require that thermostats in private homes be turned to an average 68°, and to 64° in offices, stores and factory buildings.

Again using powers granted under the Eagleton Amendment, the President ordered a 10% reduction from 1972 levels in the amount of gasoline that suppliers sell to wholesalers and retailers. Station owners will then be left to work out their own formulas for limiting the amount of gas that they will sell to their customers. In this way, the Administration aims to reduce private driving by

hour for trucks and buses. He urged a blackout of all ornamental outdoor lighting except for business identification lighting. This would reduce energy usage in an amount equal to 30,000 bbls. of oil a day and ease the strain on supplies of dangerously low residual oil used by electric power companies.

The White House is considering asking Congress to enact a series of taxes that would include a heavy levy on gasoline, an excess fee on electricity and natural gas consumed in homes, offices and factories, and an impost on auto engine horsepower that would wallop the big cars hardest. In addition, the Administration is considering putting in a national blue law to curtail business hours in stores and other businesses, and closing national parks to private cars.

Altogether, 21 Democratic Senators

THE BILL would grant the President extensive powers to restrain energy consumption, including the authority to order outdoor advertising lights doused and set temperature standards for office buildings. Most important, it would give Nixon authority he does not have now to ration all forms of fuel bought by consumers. The bill faces tough sledding early this week when it reaches the House Commerce Committee, which is none too keen to invest the presidency with any more Executive clout than is necessary. Chairman Harley Staggers will seek to limit the authority that the Senate would give the President by making rationing orders subject to judicial review. Moreover, Staggers wants Congress to retain the right to overrule any presidential conservation order. Says a committee staffer: "There is a little fear here that we may be legislating an energy Tonkin Gulf resolution."

For good or ill, many state and local authorities are hastening to prepare for the difficult period ahead. In fuel-famished New England, electric-power companies disclosed that they will have to reduce voltage by 5% between 4 p.m. and 8 p.m. If this does not suffice, blackouts would be put into effect in specific areas on a rotating basis. Despite forewarning, there will be an increased risk of crime and accidents. As in several other states, California's State Energy Planning Council is considering a relaxation of state sulfur-emission controls to allow plants to burn high-polluting fuel. That would thicken the smog in Southern California, already one of the most polluted areas in the nation. The commission has also recommended the reopening of the Santa Barbara Channel to oil drilling; a moratorium was clamped on drilling after the disastrous 1969 leak from a well in the channel badly despoiled beaches. Maine's Governor Kenneth Curtis has ordered all state departments to stop work at 4 p.m., and Arkansas Governor Dale Bumpers took to the television pulpit to warn all residents that they must either exercise restraint or "the lights are going to go out—it is as simple as that."

**Christman Dimout.** The requested ban on outdoor illumination will crimp the plans of many communities and businesses to put up dazzling Christmas displays. Even before the President's call for a blackout, Detroit Mayor Roman S. Gribbs had ordered a "dimout" of Christmas lighting, and has been severely criticized for it. Groused Councilman David Eberhard: "This town needs some joy. If we turn off the color, the sparkle, the life, then we're a dead city." To conserve electricity, the small town of Jefferson, Iowa, stilled the carillon bells that pealed hymns and patriotic music. Said Walt Stidwell, one of the county supervisors: "For seven years we heard it every day and then we shut it off. You realize there's something missing, something strange."

Nothing, though, brought the message home for most Americans as did



THE SUPERTANKER ESSO WILHELMSHAVEN CARRYING ITS VALUABLE CARGO  
Blue chips clobbered, brownouts predicted, and some red ink in the books.

30%. The President also ordered a substantial slash in fuel sold to private and corporate planes.

Until Congress passes the Energy Emergency Bill, which has been approved by the Senate and is now before the House, the Administration lacks the authority to go much further in decreasing conservation regulations. Nonetheless, the President urged service stations to refuse to sell gas from 9 p.m. Saturday to midnight Sunday. The Administration claims that this step alone could reduce the nation's driving by one quarter.

In addition, the President asked for a nationwide driving speed limit of 50 miles per hour for cars and 55 miles per

called on the Administration to begin gas rationing. That course runs directly counter to the position of Treasury Secretary George Shultz and other Administration free market apostles, who would prefer to curb gasoline consumption by hiking the price at the pump through taxes (see story page 38). Some Administration officials cling to the faint hope that the gasoline crisis can be managed without rationing or a 40¢-per-gal. added tax, but that will depend on how well the public responds to less severe restraints.

Nixon's requests put great pressure on the House to pass the Energy Emergency Bill and allow him to make his entire program mandatory.

President Nixon's earlier call to voluntarily cut back auto speeds to 50 m.p.h. That was a wrench to a nation as devoted as the U.S. is to horsepower and highway. Compliance has been spotty. In Oklahoma, hundreds of citizens have telephoned on Governor David Hall's hot line to complain that they were trying to hold at 50 m.p.h., but nobody else was. On a 120-mile trip along the New York Thruway, one driver cut his speed to the state's new limit of 50—and counted 138 cars racing past him. (But the driver improved his mileage in his BMW from 20 to 25 miles per gallon.) In Washington, one of the few Western states that has imposed a new legal limit, Anthony Stokes, a Seattle builder, chased down a speeding state patrol car and demanded that the offending patrolman give himself a ticket. (He did not, but he was officially reprimanded by his chief.) In Massachusetts, a woman who was ticketed for going 48 m.p.h. in a 35-m.p.h. zone had a ready excuse: "The Governor said that we should be doing 50 now."

Over the long Thanksgiving weekend, travelers often found gas stations closed. Some that were open raised prices. On the Black Horse Pike between Philadelphia and Atlantic City, a Shell station owner was retailing premium for 86.7¢ per gal. Presumably, some thought was given to all of this over the afternoon turkeys; on Thanksgiving night and Friday, drivers noted widespread obedience of new legal limits. Many people just kept off the highways altogether. Amtrak, the national passenger rail service, had to get "every available coach" out of mothballs to meet an unexpected flood of business.

**Thriest Speed.** Officers of bus lines have been claiming that their maximum efficient speed, below which they will use more gasoline per mile, is 60 to 65. Truckers say that their thriest speed is just under 60. Democratic Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana has been lobbying for an amendment to the Energy Emergency Bill that would exempt buses and trucks from the new limits. The Interstate Commerce Commission proposes to ease its "gateway" restrictions, which until now have often forced trucks to take circuitous routes instead of direct ones between some cities. Other truckers, though, will be hurt by the loosening of gateway rules, which are intended to prevent excessive competition on certain routes.

The restrictions on speed and the scarcity of gasoline will also hurt operators of ski resorts, many of which can be reached only by car or a few buses. The first snow fell last week on the slopes at Vail, Colo., but spirits were chilled when a big service station posted what is becoming a familiar sign: TEMPORARILY OUT OF GAS. New Hampshire ski operators complain that the 50-m.p.h. limits will add 25% to the driving time from the New York City market. Fully 60% of Florida's winter visitors arrive by car. Recently, 17% fewer cars than last year



MRS. ALFRED PAULY STANDING BEFORE HER PLASTIC-WRAPPED HOUSE IN MINNESOTA  
"Tell the people to turn off their electric blankets and cuddle."

have been registering at the welcome stations along the state border.

The situation is baffling for millions of Americans. Says one Massachusetts school superintendent: "The energy crisis is like Watergate. We know something is wrong, but we don't know quite what it is." Still, people are trying to cope, not always without incident. When hall lights were darkened at Oregon's Blue Mountain Community College, men students caused a minor stir at least twice by bumbling into the ladies' room. A sign over the elevator in Tallahassee's pollution-control office reads "Is this trip necessary? Are you injured or handicapped? If not, the stairs are behind you." Now the elevator sits idle most of the day. Columbia, S.C., has done more than switch to smaller cars for its officials; last week it bought three bicycles for the city's councilmen to use on short trips.

Mrs. Alfred Pauly of Belle Plaine, Minn., has found a way to retain heat in her concrete-block home: she wrapped it in transparent plastic, like a

#### ENFORCING "50" IN MASSACHUSETTS



SEA & SURE

sandwich. Joe Conforte, proprietor of a licensed house of prostitution outside Reno, turned the reception-room thermostats down from 75° to 68° and ordered his 30 girls to wear pantsuits and gowns instead of bikinis. Seattle City Light Co., which is conducting a conservation drive among its customers, got some advice from a nursing-home resident in her 90s: "Tell the people to turn off their electric blankets and cuddle. It's a lot more fun."

**Business Hurt.** Last week, as the popularity of big cars skidded, General Motors took an extraordinary step. It ordered 16 of its assembly plants in the U.S. and Canada to shut down for the week beginning Dec. 17 to cut scheduled production by 79,000 cars, mainly large and intermediate models. It was the first time that G.M. has closed plants to reduce production since February 1970, when car sales were slumping badly. Normally G.M. turns out 120,000 to 130,000 units a week.

The market for large used cars is softening. Jerryld M. Axelrod, president of California's Southwest Leasing Corp., reports that wholesale prices of used Cadillacs and other large models have dropped as much as 25% in recent weeks while prices of small used foreign cars and U.S. compacts have risen nearly 20%. G.M. and Ford are converting some assembly plants to the manufacture of smaller cars, and Chrysler is increasing its production of economical six-cylinder engines.

Heavy bunkering fuel for ships is rapidly evaporating, and the world's ocean-borne traffic is headed for trouble. There could well be severe delays in delivery of cargoes as diverse as phosphate, zinc, chemicals, wheat and coffee. Ships unable to get fuel are laid up in ports from Hamburg to Singapore. The shortages have developed because of the Arabs' reduction of oil shipments to Europe, where most of the "C" grade bunkering fuel is refined. On top of that, electrical generating companies, which use the same type of oil, have been stockpiling it as a hedge against shortages.

Most of the big oil companies stand to weather the crisis much better than their customers. The companies occupy a kind of no man's land between the



WHITE HOUSE ENERGY CHIEF JOHN LOVE  
Facing flinty prospects.

Arabs and the oil consumers, and their interests are divided between preserving their sources of supply at all costs and at the same time profitably satisfying their customers' needs. All of the oil firms have an enormous stake in the current crisis, particularly the international giants known as the Seven Sisters: Exxon, Royal Dutch/Shell, British Petroleum, Texaco, Mobil, Standard Oil of California (Chevron) and Gulf Oil.

**Arab Takeovers.** For years they were the absolute monarchs of the petroleum business, holding undisputed sway over their rich empires from Texas to Abu Dhabi and tightly controlling every phase of their global operations from wellhead to gas pump. In recent years, however, many oil-rich Arab nations have grown increasingly sophisticated and have moved to get a bigger piece of the profits from their resources. They have taken over the decision making on how much oil will be pumped and how much it will cost. Some countries, like Algeria, Libya, Iraq and Iran, which is not part of the Arab bloc, have gained controlling interest in the local subsidiaries of foreign firms.

That trend was markedly accelerated last week when Saudi Arabia demanded immediate controlling interest of "more than" 51% in the mammoth Arabian American Oil Co. Aramco is owned jointly by Exxon (22.5%), Standard of California (22.5%), Texaco (22.5%), Mobil (7.5%), and the Saudi Arabian government, which only last January squeezed out 25% "participation" that it will pay for in cash.

Aramco is believed to have the highest profit margin of any oil firm in the world. Its known oil reserves of 90.1 billion bbl. are more than twice as large as those in the entire U.S. Before the Arab oil cutback, the company's wells pumped 8.3 million bbl. a day, a total unmatched by any other company. The Saudis are almost certain to offer a relatively low, take-it-or-leave-it price for their increased share of Aramco's billion-dollar holdings. Because they have no choice, the U.S. corporations are resigned to taking whatever they can get for their property. One all but inevitable consequence of the Saudis' action will be to prompt similar takeovers of

## Risky Road of Retaliation

Whispers about retaliation against the Arabs have been heard since the beginning of the oil boycott, and last week Secretary of State Henry Kissinger voiced them out loud. In a press conference, he warned that if the embargo continues "unreasonably and indefinitely, the U.S. will have to consider what countermeasures it will take." Saudi Arabia's Oil Minister Ahmed Zaki Yamani promptly replied that the Arabs might then cut oil production by 80% rather than just 25%, and destroy the economies of Europe and Japan.

There are indeed countermeasures available to the U.S., but they are likely to prove either ineffective or disastrously risky. They fall into three classes:

**ECONOMIC.** The U.S. could stop exporting to the Arab countries the hundreds of millions of dollars of food and manufactured goods, such as autos and refrigerators, that the Arabs buy each year. That, however, would be totally ineffective unless the U.S. could persuade its European allies to join in the boycott. Otherwise, the Arabs could easily buy all the manufactured goods they need from Italy, France, Yugoslavia and other European countries. Right now the Europeans are so disunited and so eager to curry favor with the Arabs that they are talking about retaliation not against the Arabs but against one another. A concerted Western boycott on manufactured goods would hurt the Arabs, but the West needs Arab oil more than the pre-industrial Arab states need modern manufactures. As for food, Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz pointed out last week that the Arabs could readily replace U.S. grain with grain bought from the Soviet Union, which has enjoyed a record harvest this year.

The U.S. could try to freeze Arab oil money; about half of the \$7 billion that Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have on deposit in the West is in U.S. banks. But much of that is held by European branches of the American institutions—and the Swiss government, for example, is unlikely to permit Swiss branches of U.S. banks to block Arab funds. Moreover, unless the freeze was accomplished almost instantaneously, the Arabs could sell their threatened dollars for gold or other currencies, destroying the strength that the dollar has only lately begun to regain after two devaluations and a long siege of selling.

**POLITICAL.** The U.S. could withdraw its military mission from Saudi Arabia, possibly troubling King Feisal, who has running difficulties with the Iraqis and South Yemenis, but the French would be happy to send a military mission as a replacement. The U.S. could also refuse to sell Saudi Arabia some 30 Phantom jets it has been dickered for. That would only confirm an apparent Saudi

decision to buy French-made Mirages instead.

There is some talk among European and U.S. politicians and businessmen of an effort to get the United Nations to declare Arab oil an "international resource," which would be thrown open to all buyers under U.N. supervision. But such a resolution would never pass the General Assembly, where poor countries hold the voting majority.

**MILITARY.** Unhappily, the one countermeasure that would be effective would be invasion and occupation of the Arab oilfields. The U.S. could easily defeat the Arab armies, and though the Arabs would probably blow up the wells, the technology of oil production in the desert is so simple that the U.S. could get some oil flowing again. Setting aside all moral considerations, however, such a course would carry a catastrophic risk. Unless the Soviets agreed in advance to look the other way—not a likelihood—military action could ignite World War III for the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Even if the Soviets did not intervene as protectors of the Arabs, occupation of the fields would let the U.S. in for an endless guerrilla war.

The most effective strategy that the U.S. could adopt is also the most constructive: continuing its efforts to broker and guarantee a peace settlement between Arabs and Israelis. The Arabs recognize one key political reality: a U.S.

NEWSPHOTO



SAUDI OIL MINISTER AHMED ZAKI YAMANI

that is angry at Arab intransigence may not pressure Israel as hard to make concessions as a U.S. that has been given reason to believe that movement toward peace will get the oil flowing again. To his credit, Kissinger realized this also: he urged the Arabs to lift their embargo when an Arab-Israeli peace conference opens, as is expected next month. He won support from Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi of Iran, which has continued to sell oil to the U.S. The Shah counseled his fellow Moslems in the Arab oil states to lift the embargo now that the shooting war with Israel is over. "Petroleum is like bread," said the Shah. "It must not be cut off during peacetime."

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# The Talkies

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## ENERGY

Western oil companies in Kuwait, Abu Dhabi and Qatar

Most oil companies will benefit from rocketing petroleum prices, which have greatly increased the value of their deposits outside the Arab world. Yet prospects for individual firms vary greatly. Whatever happens in the Middle East, Exxon, the world's biggest oil company, has little to fear. It has extensive petroleum holdings in Venezuela, Australia and Canada. Exxon rigs are also exploring for oil in the North Sea, off the coasts of Malaysia and Newfoundland and in West Virginia. Exxon owns significant coal reserves in Illinois, Wyoming, Montana and North Dakota, and it mines and processes uranium for nuclear power plants.

Though Standard of California, Texaco and Mobil also have access to oil outside the Arab world, they are not nearly as widely dispersed as Exxon and will suffer some loss of profits from the cutbacks, embargoes and forced government buy-ins in the Middle East. Of all the Seven Sisters, Gulf is in the most trouble. Two-thirds of its production comes from Kuwait, where pressure is building for a state takeover of foreign operations. Best off are the American domestic companies: Phillips Petroleum, Atlantic Richfield, Standard of Ohio, Marathon Oil. Since they have few holdings in the Middle East, their property is not vulnerable to government seizures, yet the value of their reserves has suddenly grown immensely.

**More Drilling.** The price of non-Arab oil is already booming, and will soon propel American fuel costs even higher. Texas-based Coastal States Gas Corp. has agreed to buy crude oil from Nigeria's state-owned petroleum company for \$16.80 per bbl.—about two or three times the uncontrolled price of "new oil" produced in the U.S. Oilmen are rushing to find new deposits. Explorations have begun in Montana, and American companies are pressing a promising search in the jungles of the upper Amazon where the borders of Colombia, Ecuador and Peru meet.

The most viable energy source for the immediate future is coal, which constitutes 90% of known U.S. energy reserves but is used for only one-fifth of the nation's energy. Coal production has fallen off, in part because of clean air standards, and it will be difficult to expand rapidly. One reason: new and re-opened mines must be brought up to the standards of the 1969 Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, an expensive process.

While the U.S. gets ready for the severe energy shortage, Europe and Japan are already suffering from a more acute case of oil deficiency. The Arabs have been successfully playing off one nation against another in the hope of preventing any coordinated retaliatory sanctions. After Common Market foreign ministers issued a self-consciously pro-Arab statement in Brussels, the Arabs last week exempted all Common Market members except The Netherlands



ITALIAN HOARDERS QUEUING UP FOR HOME FUEL IN THE INDUSTRIAL DISTRICTS OF BOLOGNA  
A curfew for stores, restaurants and even television stations.

from a further 5% cutback planned for December. West Germany sent envoys to Saudi Arabia in search of an arrangement that would allow oil destined for Germany to pass through embargoed Dutch ports. Other governments are preparing to ask for their own private deals when Saudi Arabia's Oil Minister Ahmed Zaki Yamani swings through major European capitals next week. Reports are circulating in Europe, however, that the Arabs are allowing international oil companies to beat the boycott, at least partially. The companies are said to be taking Indonesian, Venezuelan and Nigerian oil that is destined for Canada and other nonembargoed countries and diverting it to Dutch refineries. To make up the difference, the firms are shipping extra amounts of Arab oil to their refineries in nonembargoed nations.

Despite Arab efforts to reward friends and penalize enemies, nearly every industrialized nation is suffering. Even friendly France is getting 5% less

oil than last year because the Arabs have not only slapped embargoes on some nations but cut overall production as well. Britain, which is also on the Arabs' privileged list, is receiving 15% less oil than in 1972. Sunday driving bans have spread across the Continent from Copenhagen to Calabria. The Italian government last week adopted emergency measures that forbid the sale of gasoline in jerry cans (to discourage widespread hoarding), put curfews on stores, restaurants, theaters and even television stations, and limit drivers on the *autostrade* to a rather un-Italian 75 m.p.h. Auto sales in West Germany are down 30% from last year's rate. Happily, there has also been a decline in accidents.

No nation has been hit harder than Japan, which imports nearly 100% of its oil, including 43% from Arab nations. Kowtowing to Arab demands, the Japanese cabinet last week called on Israel to withdraw from Arab territories that were occupied during the 1967 war, and threatened to reconsider its relations

JAPANESE HOUSEWIVES STOCKING UP ON TOILET PAPER & OTHER SCARCE BASICS



## ENERGY

with Israel on the basis of "future developments." By government edict, neon lights are being turned off earlier along Tokyo's gaudy Ginza and the main streets of many other cities, store hours have been reduced and TV broadcasting curtailed. Japanese economists, many of whom had been predicting at least a 10% expansion for 1974, now say that the energy crisis will lead to zero economic growth in the next few months.

Among Japanese consumers, many of whom recall the severe shortages of the war, the "oil shakku" has also instilled an edginess bordering on hysteria. A casual remark by one shopper to another in Yokohama to the effect that oil and electricity were needed in the sugar-refining industry touched off a sugar-buying panic that spread across the whole country last week. Housewives are still trying to lay in supplies of toilet paper after a rumor spread about a forthcoming dearth of that staple. A woman was trampled to death in a toilet-paper stampede in Osaka.

**Visible Targets.** If the Arabs persist in their embargo, the emergency will bite Americans deeply in a month or so. Old routines in work and play will be disrupted, traveling will become a chore and the novelty of spartan indoor temperatures and reduced lighting will wear thin. Then the public will probably begin a search for scapegoats. The Administration will be high on everyone's list for its failure to foresee and prepare for the crisis. Oil companies will be another target of criticism, because they are so visible and profitable, and calls will rise for increased Government regulation of the industry.

As resentment against the Arabs rises, there will be swelling demands for countermeasures. The U.S. commitment to Israel also will be sorely tested, as the State Department's large pro-Arab contingent, the oil companies and others push for a policy more congenial to the sheiks. Says Professor William Griffith, a Middle East specialist at M.I.T.: "People are not going to urge that we abandon Israel. But you'll hear more and more statements to the effect that the U.S. should moderate its Middle East policy and should pressure Israel to abandon the conquered territories."

In the meantime, the Administration still faces some tough decisions. Even if the White House moved tomorrow to adopt rationing, it would take an estimated three to four months to set a nationwide program in motion. If taxes are to be used to curb energy demand, the White House will have to begin quickly to sell that idea to openly reluctant members of Congress. President Nixon's belated switch away from voluntarism toward executive action is a welcome start in curbing consumption. The question is whether the Government's efforts are timely and tough enough to give the nation at least an even chance of getting through the winter without a severe economic setback and widespread personal hardship.



A GAS STATION OPERATOR IN FORT LEE, N.J., SQUEEZED BY THE SHORTAGE

## Rationing, Tax—or White Market?

Some time around Christmas, President Nixon will have to make a decision that he would dearly love to avoid. His advisers calculate that America's motorists must cut gasoline use no less than 30% by mid-February if supply is to come anywhere near meeting demand—especially since the Government is now pressing refineries to shift some output from gasoline into heating oil. In the next few weeks, it should become clear whether the President's call for a lower nationwide speed limit, the ban on Sunday gasoline sales and inevitable price hikes will do the job. In the event that they will not, the President must choose between rationing, or taxing gas so heavily that the ordinary motorist cannot buy as much as he wants, or some combination of the two. The choice is agonizing, and it has to be made quickly in order to get the bureaucratic machinery in place for rationing or the legislative approval for taxing.

The arguments for rationing are simple. It would enable the Government to regulate consumption fairly precisely by printing ration coupons for, say, only 1.4 billion gal. per week; no more could be legally sold. (Actually, cards similar to credit cards might be used instead.) More important, under rationing the Government would at least attempt to dole out supplies on the basis of the need to drive, rather than ability to pay. The rich could not buy up all the gasoline, and the poor would be assured of some fuel. Even the most vocal advocates, however, concede that rationing has flaws. Banker David Rockefeller, for example, supports it as "the most equitable" method of sharing the hardship, but adds that "rationing is a very unappealing and inefficient and undesirable kind of thing."

Presumably, rationing would work somewhat as it did in World War II. There would be a basic allowance, currently pegged by planners at around ten gallons per week. That would permit the average car to be driven about 130 miles,

but some Cadillac owners could go only 80 miles while some Datsun drivers could roll 290 miles. People who could demonstrate a need to drive—the Nevada rancher, say, who lives 50 miles from the nearest church—would get extra rations. Doctors, plumbers, salesmen and others whose cars are absolutely vital to their jobs would get still more. Truck lines and bus companies would get unlimited rations. Some 6,000 local boards, consisting of both unpaid volunteers and full-time paid workers, would decide who got how much.

**Mob Theft.** The complexities would be horrifying. To begin with, how would the basic ration be apportioned? If each car got a ration, as in World War II, the self-indulgent, three-car family (which scarcely existed then) could drive three times as much as the family that had held down traffic congestion and air pollution by using only one auto. If every driver received coupons, the family with four licensed drivers—husband, wife and two teen-agers—would get four times as much gas as the family in which Dad did all the driving. Rations could be allotted by family unit—but what constitutes a "family"? Would the 20-year-old Harvard sophomore get his own ration, or would he be forced to share coupons with his parents in San Diego? Government planners have not even begun to figure out how rationing would be applied to the car-rental business.

Beyond that, how could "need to drive" be decided? Does the suburbanite who lives five miles from a railroad station where commuter service is infrequent and erratic "have" to drive to work? Is a weekly 20-mile trip to a psychiatrist's office essential, and if so, for whom—only those who suffer severe mental illness, or people troubled by vague anxieties? The inescapable need to adjudicate such questions would give the Government decision-making power over minute details of people's lives.

The nation barely tolerated such

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regulation even in World War II. Gas rationing then drastically slashed driving (no wonder: the basic ration fluctuated between two and four gallons per week). But even in a society not yet wedded to the road, and moved by intense feelings of patriotism, rationing prompted outraged howls about unfairness. Worse, rationing led to widespread cheating. Most drivers broke the rules, if only by slipping occasional coupons to a friend. Mob-organized theft and counterfeiting of coupons were common. The Government estimated that 5% of all gasoline was black-marketed and that 15% of the C (unlimited-)ration coupons were phony. Gasoline black markets would probably flourish even more now because Americans have become far more accustomed to driving as often and as far as they please. In fact, the Mafia seems better organized for gas rationing than the Government. Mafia chieftains already have lined up printing firms to produce counterfeit ration coupons, and held a series of conferences to decide which don will control the counterfeiting racket in each area.

**Your Friends.** By contrast, curtailing driving by heavily taxing gasoline would avoid both the incitement to crime and the snooping regulation of rationing. Under the plan favored by all three members of Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, the Government would raise the cost of gasoline 40¢ per gal., mostly by boosting taxes but partially by permitting price hikes. Pump prices would rise to more than 80¢ per gal. People could still decide for themselves how much they really needed to drive, rather than bare their souls to "a board of your friends and neighbors." CEA Member William Fellner calculates that a 40¢ tax would raise about \$32 billion a year. Theoretically, the Government could spend the money on aid to mass transit, research into ways to build

safers nuclear power plants or other methods of easing the energy crisis.

Alas, this kind of plan would also reduce consumer purchasing power enough to cause a possibly shattering recession—to say nothing of the brutal penalty it would levy on a poorly paid night hospital attendant who had to drive to her job because no buses ran when her shift began. Fellner and other advocates concede that the Government would have to quickly refund most of the money, especially to the poor. This would probably require a rejiggering of income tax withholding rates that would present administrative complexities of its own.

The plan would raise living costs and funnel gasoline to those who could most easily afford it, rather than to the people who needed it most. For these reasons, Washington Democrat Henry Jackson, the Senate's leading champion of emergency energy legislation, insists that Congress would defeat any such tax plan by a lopsided vote.

A third idea is to make gasoline more expensive by lifting price controls and letting the price rise as high as the traffic would bear. That idea is supported by free-market advocates but has no serious support within the Government. It would be as unwieldy and inequitable as the tax plan—and would channel gargantuan added revenues not to the Government but to gas-station owners and oil companies.

Happily, though, the choice is not strictly either/or. Some combinations of rationing and free markets are possible, intriguing and likely. One ingenious idea gaining some Government attention is to add to rationing what would amount to a federally operated black market (or "white market" as planners call it). Ration coupons would be issued in roughly equal amounts to everyone holding a driver's license, but they could be trans-

ferred, unlike World War II coupons. The Government would allow people who use mass transit rather than their cars to sell their coupons for cash. The rich and those who badly needed to drive could buy those coupons, possibly through official exchanges, if they were willing to pay the price.

Washington could still regulate tightly the total amount of gasoline consumed. Drivers would be assured of a basic supply, and they could freely choose how much more they wanted. Under one version of this plan, marketable coupons would be issued not just to drivers but to anyone who had a Social Security number; this method could accomplish a redistribution of income from rich to poor that even George McGovern might approve. But there might still be a true black market alongside the white one. Counterfeiting of coupons might still be profitable if the resale supply of legitimate coupons was tight and prices sky-high.

**Social Cost.** A less fanciful proposal would meld rationing and taxes. Every driver might get a card entitling him to purchase a stated, small ration and pay the current gasoline taxes. If he bought additional gallons, the Government would tax him heavily at the pump. Everyone would be assured of a basic supply, but people who needed or wanted more could buy it, and the Government would collect additional revenue. Prices would rise, too, under this plan—or indeed any plan.

Neither the white market nor the rationing-plus-taxes plan is perfect. Both would preserve freedom of choice at the social cost of basing access to the gas pump at least partly on income. But given the nightmare complexities of wartime rationing and the inequities of limiting driving solely by taxation or higher prices, one or the other seems worth a try.

DEAN S. BRACK—BLACK STAR



SERVICE STATION BROADSIDE

SLOWDOWN MESSAGE IN MARYLAND



## The (Possible) Blessings of Doing Without

*A penny saved is two pence clear  
A pin a day is a groat a year*  
—Benjamin Franklin

There was a time when *Poor Richard's Almanac* was strictly for children. No longer. The apostle of thrift now seems the right philosopher for modern America. One can almost see Ben peering over his bifocals and croaking, "I told you so."

So he did. But few listened. In his own day he was drowned out by the view of America as extended Genesis, a promised country where colonists obeyed the biblical injunction to be fruitful and multiply and subdue the earth. In the following century came the boisterous faith in expansion—the push westward, the promise of the industrial revolution and, always, the unrestricted faith in the marketplace. The creative intellect became intoxicated with progress. Henry Adams squinted and foresaw a new American, "the child of incalculable coal power, chemical power, electrical power and radiating energy . . . a sort of God compared with any former creature of nature."

But by the close of the century, economist Thorstein Veblen could already indict those gods for both "conspicuous consumption of valuable goods" and, more significantly, "conspicuous wastefulness." In the Twentieth Century, consumption and waste seemed wedded, the nuptials attended by such as Thomas Edison and Henry Ford, whose prolific inventions spurred cheap consumption. Even the Great Depression could not shake the habits of acquisition. F.D.R.'s reference to "the more abundant life" was too enticing to examine. So were the now forgotten promises of the Fair Deal, the New Frontier and the Great Society.

For the U.S., unbounded growth came to be an ethic. The doctrine of bigness was understandable, given the size and vigor of the country. No administration could believe that America the Bountiful had any economic confines. No administration was ever able to forestall the time when energies would be insufficient to support the burgeoning nation. Governments have not only missed the handwriting on the wall; they have scarcely been able to detect the wall. Former Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall recently put the dilemma in concrete terms: "Treasury Secretary George Shultz asserted that we would have to crank up a 'crash plan' to develop our own resources to 'cool the swagger of the Arab nations.' Yet it is we who are the swaggerers—and the energy pigs as well. We are consuming nearly one-third of the world's petroleum even though we have only a dwindling 9% of the world's oil reserves. This is the situation that sets the stage for a painful, overdue comeuppance."

The comeuppance is now at hand. Oil and gasoline rationing in some form are virtually certain. For the first time since World War II, the U.S. has begun to experience major shortages. Dwindling supplies have been reported nationwide—not only of fuel, but also of such disparate items as paints and clothing, canned food and plywood, newsprint and plastics. This ebb of goods is a peculiar, almost foreign phenomenon. Americans are unused to doing without. To be sure, there have been curtailments before—but they have always been short-lived. The energy crisis is an opened difficulty. It may have been artificially imposed, but its implications stretch far beyond petropolitics. Even Middle East oil wells are not bottomless. What is threatened by men in this generation may be guaranteed by nature in the next; the earth itself has limitations.

Those limitations have yet to be confronted. Power, in the American mind, remains a mysterious and endless phenomenon.

Modern society's terrible dependence on electricity, for example, has never been seriously regarded. The Northeastern-seaboard blackout of 1965 might have served as an ominous signal of malaise; instead it was clucked over, discussed, then dismissed. The U.S. energy economy plunged on heedlessly until today it has become, as Udall observes, "bloated and profligate. At least one-third of the energy we use now is wasted."

And energy is not the only commodity that is wasted. Merchandise is deliberately given a short life; the whole range of goods and services, from automobiles to zinc, is considered disposable. The ancient adage "use it up, make it do, wear it out" has long been replaced by the modern American credo: "There's plenty more where that came from."

And now, abruptly, the plenty has stopped. The prospect of deprivation is jolting, and the consequences are still incalculable. It would take Dr. Pangloss himself to be cheerful in this hour. Yet even a professional ironist can find some illumination in the economic and political brownout. The crisis has forced consumers to do something unprecedented—to consider tomorrow. It is a feat that past generations found impossible. To see the future and set it whole demands the confrontation of unpalatable facts. Among them: America is not omnipotent; no country is powerful enough to claim total independence; U.S. society has been living in a fiction of prosperity without responsibility. Once these are acknowledged, other truths become manifest. Public utilities, for example, can no longer be called upon to produce ever larger supplies of power on demand. The appetite for electricity for extra heat and light and air conditioning has to be scaled down to reality. Automobiles with insatiable engines can no longer continue to be built. The whole chain of commodities, products and energies cannot continue to be treated as happily disposable. Waste, profligacy, squandering of everything has to be stopped. That stoppage promises to give the economy new buffers. It means more than a new way of consumption; it requires a new mode of thinking.

Does it also mean an end to what the world acknowledges as the good life? Does it imply the blankness and aridity of a new spartan state? Hardly. Even the alarmists have not called for a return to Puritan self-denial. America, even under the most severe pressure, remains a singularly capacious land. Its ability to provide its population with necessities—and even luxuries—is unique. But it cannot retain that capacity without a more realistic society of consumers—a society that accepts its new responsibility to curb its habits; recognizing that the good life is not based on quantity. Doubtless, the American faith in technology is valid. Alternate sources of energy will be found. But science cannot do the job by technology alone; it needs all the help from the people it can get.

Until now, "Power to the People" was only a slogan. Today the American future is literally in its citizens' hands—hands that rest upon ignition keys, electric switches, purses and wallets. How will America's citizens react? They could continue to do what they have always done: spend and damn the consequences. Or they could acknowledge that the forgotten virtue of thrift, as Ben Franklin preached, is not against the American grain but deep within it.

The choice is clear: there seems to be sufficient time for American society to make its choice. True, rationing, cutbacks, allocations are unpleasant to contemplate. But so is the image of a new *America Deserta* burned dry by its own voracity. Whatever the decision is, it cannot be wholly judged at this time. It remains for posterity to record whether the epoch of the energy crisis was a time of catastrophic status quo or a period of grace.

■ Stefan Kanfer



BEN FRANKLIN



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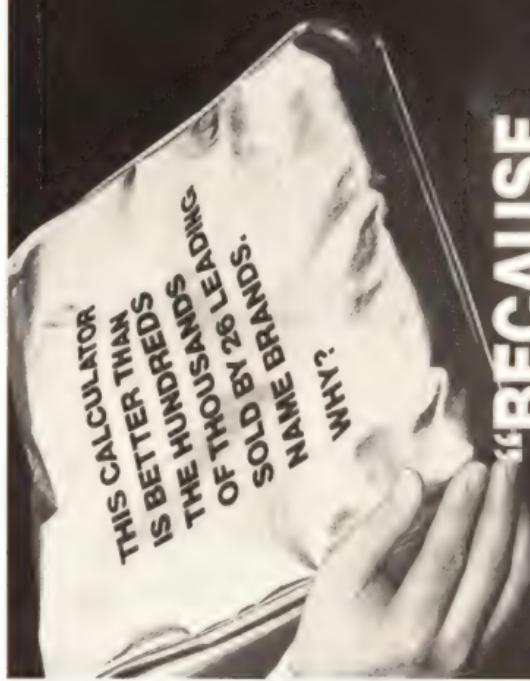
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MAJOR GENERAL EL GAMASI OF EGYPT (LEFT) CHATTING WITH MAJOR GENERAL YARIV OF ISRAEL DURING PAUSE IN NEGOTIATIONS

## THE WORLD

### MIDDLE EAST

## Sandstorm at Kilometer 101

"Kilometer 101," the United Nations checkpoint along the Cairo-Suez road, stood once again at the crossroads between peace and war in the Middle East. There, in a cluster of sand-swept tents guarded by blue-helmeted troops of the U.N. Emergency Force, Israeli and Egyptian negotiators met once more in an effort to work out the details of the Suez cease-fire.

Five of the six points in U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's cease-fire package had already been achieved. The Cairo-Suez road was open for transporting nonmilitary supplies to the city of Suez; for evacuating the city's civilian wounded; for sending food, water and medical supplies to Egypt's Third Army trapped on the east bank of the canal. Checkpoints were manned by U.N. forces. The cease-fire was generally holding up. Perhaps most important, the exchange of war prisoners—241 Israelis and 8,305 Egyptians—was completed late in the week.

What remained to be settled was the "disengagement and separation of forces" called for in the agreement. Egypt insisted that Israeli troops abide by its interpretation of the ambiguous Kissinger plan and withdraw to the positions they held on Oct. 22—before they surrounded the city of Suez and trapped the Egyptian Third Army. The Israelis maintained that the Oct. 22 lines were uncharred and suggested instead that both

sides withdraw to the positions they held before the Yom Kippur War began Oct. 6. To the Egyptians, this would mean the loss of their newly restored position on the east bank of the canal and an admission that they had gained nothing in the October war.

The chief negotiators at Kilometer 101 were Egypt's Major General Mohamed Abdel Ghani el Gamasi, Israel's Major General Aharon Yariv, and the commander of the U.N. forces, Major General Ensio Siilasvuo of Finland, who presided over the meetings. At an earlier session, General Siilasvuo had asked each side to come back with a set of proposals that it thought might be acceptable to the other. On Thursday, after a three-day recess, the generals returned to face each other once again over Israeli coffee and Egyptian pastry.

**Terse Announcement.** The session lasted 4½ hours, making it the longest so far. Outside, the day changed from a bright, clear November morning into a raging sandstorm, but inside the tent the negotiating continued. At one point, Yariv walked over to the Israeli tent with in the U.N. compound, to telephone Jerusalem. Later, both Yariv and Gamasi meandered out of the U.N. tent and talked earnestly together for a long time, as clouds of desert sand swirled around them. Finally, the conference ended with the terse announcement that the talks would continue the next day.

Apparently the negotiators were making progress. General Yariv proposed a compromise formula that could lead to a settlement. Under the plan, Israel would withdraw its forces from the west bank entirely, thereby freeing the Egyptian Third Army to retreat to the west bank of the canal. The Egyptians would be permitted to retain a limited force on the east bank, and the Israelis would pull back about six miles eastward into the Sinai. U.N. troops would take up positions between the two sides; Egypt would reopen the Suez Canal, and Israeli shipping would receive free passage through the canal for the first time.

Whether the formula would prove to be acceptable to the Egyptians remained to be seen. But certainly Egyptian President Anwar Sadat was under pressure to achieve some quick progress in his negotiations with the Israelis. This week he is scheduled to meet with other Arab leaders in Algiers, and he will be obliged to prove to his more militant brethren that his policy of moderation, negotiation and trust in Kissinger is paying dividends. So far two Arab states—Libya and Iraq—have said that they will not attend the meeting; both oppose negotiations with the Israelis. Even Syria, Egypt's closest ally in the October war, has refused to take the first step toward negotiation by exchanging prisoners of war with Israel. So Sadat will have his hands full trying to retain a semblance of Arab unity at Algiers.

The Egyptians are anxious to get the formal peace conference under way by about Dec. 9, the date Kissinger originally proposed, in order to sustain the

## THE WORLD

diplomatic momentum created by the war. The U.S. is also anxious to get the meeting started, so that it can argue to the Arab oil-producing nations that they might just as well step up the flow of oil while the conference is in progress.

Israel, on the other hand, is in much less of a hurry. Its national elections are scheduled to be held Dec. 31, and the political campaign will begin Dec. 8. Premier Meir's government has already been weakened by domestic bickering over the recent war, and will hardly be in a position to negotiate intensively—much less make significant concessions—until the elections are out of the way. Israel is also angry about Egypt's continuing blockade of the Bab el Mandeb straits at the southern end of the Red Sea, and in addition it is waiting to see how the Arab summit turns out. If the parley should prove to be a reprise of the Khartoum Conference of 1967, at which the Arabs vowed "no negotiations, no peace, no recognition," then the Israelis would seem to have little reason to make concessions.

**Conciliatory Gesture.** The Palestinian guerrilla groups, in the meantime, were trying to decide what goals to press for at the eventual conference. Yasser Arafat and the more moderate of the Palestinians favor the return of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank of the Jordan, and would turn this territory into a separate Palestinian state, but they do not call for an end to the state of Israel. George Habash and the more militant Palestinians still insist on the dissolution of Israel and the establishment of a united Palestine in which Moslems, Jews and Christians would live together. Though they disagree on so many other matters, most Palestinian leaders agreed to fly to Moscow last week to discuss their policies. As expected, they won the Soviet Union's endorsement of their participation in any peace conference on the Middle East.

Jordan's King Hussein is not particularly anxious to have the Palestinians at the peace table, but he made a conciliatory gesture toward them by proposing that they be given the right to decide whether a newly created Palestine should be an independent state or linked to Jordan. Under Hussein's plan, Jordan would recover the West Bank of the Jordan, then hold a plebiscite among Palestinians there to determine whether they would remain under Hussein. The Palestinian guerrilla groups are inclined to push instead for the immediate creation of an independent state.

Thorny as they are, such questions were side issues to the major problem of making permanent the cease-fire. Egyptian and Israeli armies still face each other along the Suez front. Until they are separated behind negotiated lines, the danger exists that a chance incident or miscalculation could spark renewed fighting. It is that potential that caused all parties to focus their concern and attention on the negotiations at the tent city at Kilometer 101.

## EUROPE

# Toward a Winter of Discontent

*Ever since World War II, Western Europe has been struggling, fitfully and sometimes unhappily, toward unity. The latest Middle East war has shown just how tenuous that unity still is. Last week in Copenhagen, the Common Market Foreign Ministers met and agreed on a French-sponsored plan for periodic summit meetings. The first will be held Dec. 14 and 15 in the Danish capital in an atmosphere of unusual intimacy—even the Foreign Ministers will not be allowed into the discussions by the heads of state. Such a format, the Ministers reasoned, will allow their bosses to talk on a few key subjects and, with luck, reach a consensus. TIME's Chief European Correspondent William Rademakers reports on the new mood of Europe:*

After a soft summer and a brilliant fall, this promises to be Europe's cruellest winter of discontent. Like America, Europe has celebrated more than a

more vital to its well-being than to that of the United States or the Soviet Union. Second, the Europeans were profoundly disturbed by what they thought was American arrogance in demanding that they support U.S. Middle East policy and in calling a military alert without consulting them. The U.S., of course, feels that its allies let it down in the confrontation with the Soviet Union. "The countries that were most consulted proved among the most difficult in their cooperation," Secretary of State Henry Kissinger sarcastically noted at his news conference last week. "And those countries that were most cooperative were least consulted." Lack of information was not the point; the Europeans broke ranks because they saw their interests totally differently from the U.S. and that, added Kissinger ominously, would have "profound consequences" for them.

There quickly followed an unseemly



"They've started allocating allies—do we want Iceland or Portugal?"

quarter-century of spiraling conspicuous consumption, and it is not mentally prepared to do without. Cars clog the cities. Lights burn through the night. Parents plan their precious ski holidays around the Christmas vacation, assuming that they can all go on living as they are. But that will not happen. The fourth Arab-Israeli war and its consequences have brought Western Europe to the point of no return.

If necessity, as Jean Monnet insists, is the great federator, then Europe's time has finally come. In fact, it may already be too late. First, there was the profound humiliation of a community of 253 million people, with gross national product of some \$700 billion, reacting like a pitiful, helpless giant in a conflict far

scramble to ensure oil deliveries on a purely nationalist basis, an "I'm all right, Jack" attitude that prompted London *Times* Columnist Bernard Levin to write: "The fact that *nothing* in the realms of cowardice, selfishness, cant and shortsighted folly is beyond the bounds of possibility in view of what has actually happened already. The first time—the very first time—that any external strain is put on the Common Market alliance, the ties that bind its members snap. No, they do not snap, the members themselves rush forward to snap them."

The same members are now rushing forward in pursuit of the Grail of Eu-

\*Notably Britain and France.

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ropean unity. "Europe has been treated like a nonentity," complained French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert in a remarkable turnaround. "Europe has been humiliated by the superpowers..." Willy Brandt, preaching to the converted, promised the European Parliament in Strasbourg: "We can and will create Europe." Ted Heath and Georges Pompidou, meeting at Chequers, exchanged vows of the same sort.

If unity rhetoric could be converted to energy, the Community would undoubtedly be self-sufficient. European diplomats insist that this time the drive toward unity is serious. The Foreign Ministers said in Copenhagen last week that the heads-of-government summit will "lay the groundwork for significant cooperation in matters of foreign policy."

The problem with these promises is that they have been made before. The summits of '69 and '72 were supposed to lay similar groundwork, but precious little changed.

It can be argued that this time Europe has no choice but unity—what French Political Analyst Raymond Aron calls "the shock treatment." But Aron adds: "The problem with such treatment is that it either cures or kills, and one is not really sure until you try it." The signs this time are somewhat auspicious. When a French Foreign Minister begins mouthing "European" phrases, one can judge the impact of recent events on the time-honored French policy of lonely grandeur.

Quite obviously Pompidou was deeply shocked by France's inability to play a role in the Middle East, despite a carefully cultivated "special relationship" with the Arab world. He is also distrustful of the "collusion" between the superpowers in the Middle East. So, to varying degrees, are other European leaders. Their perceptions of American power have changed dramatically.

**French Pride.** Europeans feel that détente between Moscow and Washington is a diplomatic way to describe a situation where two states are drawn together by the sheer power they exercise, and their ability to exclude others. They are unhappy with Kissinger's brutal but accurate description of Europe as a minor power with regional interests, while the U.S. is a power with global interests. They are no longer sure of their individual relationships with the U.S., and because of this they are backing into more dependence on each other.

Yet foreign policy for the European nations, as the oil crisis has demonstrated, is still overwhelmingly nationalistic. Even while passionately talking unity, Europeans continue to develop along purely national lines. In the midst of the energy crisis, for example, the French proudly announced that they would build nothing but nuclear power plants for the remainder of this century. The problem is that the French nuclear power system, like its television sets, is incompatible with Britain's or West Germany's.

## THE NETHERLANDS

### The Souring of the Dutch

When Dutch Prime Minister Joop den Uyl arrived at Amsterdam's Olympic Stadium last week to attend the Holland-Belgium soccer match, a chorus of boos and catcalls rose from the capacity crowd of 65,000. A week earlier he probably would have been cheered.

The difference a week made lay in what was happening to The Netherlands as the only European nation under a total Arab oil embargo. The gay spirit of solidarity in the face of adversity that first swept the nation was giving way to misgivings. Already the weekend business of hotels and restaurants had dropped by 60%, and many restaurants



PRIME MINISTER DEN UYL  
"This crisis is good training."

say they will close on Sundays and lay off personnel.

Prime Minister Den Uyl was coming under increasing public pressure for the bravely outspoken ways of his Socialist-dominated coalition government. In Eindhoven, a headwaiter summed up the new mood this way: "We are all pro-Israel, and there's no reason to hide our feelings. We are certainly not getting more pro-Arab now, but that's no reason for the government of a small and vulnerable country to go out flag waving in the world, praising countries we like and lambasting the others."

In an editorial, the country's biggest newspaper, Amsterdam's *De Telegraaf* (circ. 670,000), blamed Foreign Minister Max van der Stoel for triggering the boycott when he called in Arab ambassadors at the start of the Arab-Israeli war to give them what they regarded as a dressing down. Though the Dutch were

bound to suffer from their consistently pro-Israeli foreign policy over the years, many Dutchmen believed Van der Stoel's outspokenness—and Den Uyl's approval of Van der Stoel's views—goaded the Arabs to make an example of Holland.

There are only 25,000 to 30,000 Jews left in The Netherlands, but the memories of the harsh Nazi occupation that saw 100,000 Dutch Jews herded off to their deaths in World War II has left a deep imprint. As one official of the Foreign Ministry put it, "We're carrying our hearts on our tongues a little more than the other countries."

That defiant loyalty to Israel is the main reason why Dutch efforts at diplomatic backtracking with the Arabs so far have produced no results. First, the Dutch Ambassador to Iran was sent to Arab capitals to ask for "understanding." When that failed, a special emissary was dispatched with a personal message from Queen Juliana to King Feisal of Saudi Arabia, recalling the special relationship between her mother Queen Wilhelmina and King Saud. His answer has not been made public but informed sources say the Dutch got nowhere.

**Good Training.** Meanwhile, the Dutch are faced with the pusillanimous refusal of help from their European partners, who have not displayed Holland's gutsy outspokenness to the Arabs. The Dutch stepped up pressure on their neighbors to get either Europe-wide political support against the Arabs or some kind of oil-sharing agreement to prevent a collapse of the Dutch economy. At first the Dutch had merely hinted they might cut off supplies of natural gas, 41% of which they export mainly to West Germany, Belgium and France. Last week, at a meeting of the European Economic Community Foreign Ministers in Copenhagen, the threat was made explicit —no oil, no gas.

It was a measure of how desperate the situation had become when a nation as dedicated to European unity as The Netherlands felt compelled to use Arab-style blackmail threats against its European partners, in flagrant violation of Common Market rules. But the fact was that, as the Dutch pointed out, it was also against the rules to refuse to share oil with a Common Market partner in need.

Undaunted by the souring mood of his country, Prime Minister Den Uyl told a Socialist Party rally that he realized the hardships his outspoken candor on foreign affairs might bring. "I'm not applauding the careless Sundays," he said, "but I am very happy that so many take it in their stride... Look how beautiful a city can be without cars. This crisis is a good training for the things we will have to face sooner or later." To which *De Telegraaf* nastily commented: "Den Uyl's utterances are so much hot air, for Holland has virtually no influence on world politics. He should concentrate on governing the country."



GHIZIKIS

*In the afternoon sunshine, Athenians wondered what to expect.*



PAPADOPOULOS

## GREECE

## The Military Ousts Papadopoulos

The country was already under martial law, so the army was able to move quietly and efficiently. Police and troops quickly surrounded the suburban home of President George Papadopoulos and placed him under arrest while tanks rolled unopposed into the main squares of Athens. By the time the Greek people learned that their country had undergone its second *coup d'état* in six and a half years, the army had already sworn in a new president, Lieut. General Phaedon Ghizikis, a rightist and friend of deposed King Constantine.

To the outside world, the notion that the Greek military forces had overthrown Papadopoulos seemed at first glance to be a contradiction in terms. After all, it was Papadopoulos who, as a colonel, had masterminded the 1967 coup that brought the army to power. And, though he later shed his military uniform, he had been backed by the armed forces—even as he made some tentative moves toward modest liberalization. But he lost much of his military support last June when he abolished the monarchy and subsequently rid his cabinet of military men. He also issued a general amnesty for political prisoners, appointed a civilian premier, and promised to hold parliamentary elections sometime in 1974. Skeptics interpreted Papadopoulos's moves as an effort to divorce himself from his military colleagues and assume full control for himself.

Though the military looked on Papadopoulos's maneuver with disfavor, his promises of full democracy had been made before and were not altogether convincing to Greek leftists and moderates. In early November, a memorial service for former Premier George Pandreou, a leftist, had turned into a clash between police and students, and a week later demonstrations broke out

at the Athens Polytechnic University and quickly spread to the streets of the capital; 13 persons were killed and hundreds wounded. Papadopoulos imposed martial law to restore order. The unrest finally gave the military an excuse to overthrow him.

Until this week, the new president, Phaedon Ghizikis, 57, had been the commander of the First Army based in central Greece. He had never been close to Papadopoulos, remaining instead friendly with King Constantine, who is presently living in exile in Britain. It was not known whether the new coup would have any effect on the status of the Greek monarchy, though observers noted that in an announcement the new government referred to the "Royal" Greek Air Force for the first time since the monarchy was formally abolished six months ago.

**Dour Oratory.** In any case, the tenor of the regime's early statements made clear that its primary concern was in reinstating outright military rule. "The people were literally being dragged into an electoral adventure," the government announced in words that were reminiscent of the dour oratory of the 1967 coup. Instead of fulfilling the colonels' original goals and bringing about "the cleansing of public life," the official statement continued, Papadopoulos was allowing the country to be pushed "to the same habits against which the armed forces revolted in April 1967."

By all early accounts, the latest coup was accomplished without bloodshed, evoking neither widespread outrage nor elation from the Greek people. Despite a 24-hour curfew, Athenians wandered out into the Sunday afternoon sunshine, wondering what to expect of the new régime. Traditionally the Greek military has favored the monarchy and been austere puritanical. Six years ago, the first

edict of the angry colonels had been a ban on miniskirts and long hair. This time, whatever else the coup might mean, it clearly indicated that the tanks had put an end to George Papadopoulos's efforts to return Greece to at least the trappings of parliamentary rule.

## NORTHERN IRELAND

## Coalition by Compromise

Ireland has traditionally been the graveyard of British political reputations. During his nearly two years as Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, William Whitelaw has occasionally sounded as if he too were headed for an early political demise. But last week Whitelaw ebulliently returned to Westminster with a diplomatic triumph. Five months after the election of the new Northern Ireland Assembly, Whitelaw had fashioned a delicate agreement that promised to end 50 years of Protestant domination in the torn province and, for the first time, give the Catholic minority a genuine share in its government.

The bluff and amiable Whitelaw, 55, had closeted himself at Stormont Castle for the past six weeks for long sessions with party leaders, drawing on the considerable store of personal good will he has earned in Ulster in order to achieve an understanding. The agreement was finally sealed in a late evening bargaining session, though in usual Ulster fashion the pact momentarily tottered at the brink of angry dissolution. The problem: how to fairly divide the executive spoils between the three moderate parties that together control the Assembly majority—former Prime Minister Brian Faulkner's Protestant Unionists, the Catholic-oriented Social Democratic and Labor Party and the nonsectarian Alliance Party.

**Novel Sight.** In the end, the dilemma was resolved by an ingenious arithmetical solution. Instead of the twelve-member executive council that Whitelaw had originally envisioned, he and the party leaders settled for an eleven-member coalition Cabinet. It will be headed by Protestant Faulkner as Chief Executive, and include five other Unionists, who will be responsible for finance, commerce, the environment, agriculture and information. The S.D.L.P. emerged with their leader, Gerry Fitt, as Deputy Chief Executive, and three other key portfolios. The eleventh Cabinet member will be Alliance Leader Oliver Napier.

In order to make the 6-4-1 Cabinet split in the Unionists' favor more palatable to the S.D.L.P., Whitelaw and the political leaders agreed to add four non-voting members, in effect junior ministers. Two of these additional posts went to the S.D.L.P., and one each to the Unionists and Alliance. The result was a 15-member administration in which

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## THE WORLD

the majority Unionists would be outnumbered by a coalition of the SDLP and Alliance members. Thus, both sides could in effect say that they had won.

The question now is whether the new executive body can keep up the spirit of compromise. Extremists on both sides predictably scorned the agreement. The Rev. Ian Paisley, a leader of the Protestant Loyalists, called it a "sellout."

Nonetheless, there was the novel sight of those archfoes, Brian Faulkner and Gerry Fitt, defending each other—as well as themselves—on television. Said Faulkner with a flourish: "In the last six weeks I have seen more constructive debate around that conference table than I have seen in 25 years in politics. Gerry Fitt and I will both work as a strong team, both determined to see that the executive works." Therein lies Ulster's best chance to stop the bloodshed between warring Protestants and Catholics.

## ARGENTINA

### A Way of Death

Like hundreds of his fellow American businessmen in Argentina, Ford Executive John Albert Swint, 56, lived in fear. Marauding bands of guerrillas have turned terrorism into a fact of life for the relatively rich and powerful in the country, especially around the in-



FORD EXECUTIVE SWINT

The motive was terror.

dustrial center of Córdoba, 450 miles northwest of Buenos Aires, which has become known as "the capital of terrorism."

It was only natural, therefore, that Swint take precautions in getting to his job as general manager of the Ford subsidiary, Transax, in Córdoba. When he left for work on Thanksgiving Day, his chauffeur-driven car was followed by another car carrying two well-armed bodyguards. As the two cars prepared to pass a parked trailer truck obstruct-



VICE PRESIDENT ISABELITA FILLS IN FOR AILING PERÓN

*The President's health was a subject of concern.*

ing one side of the road, a red Chevrolet pickup truck flashed past them, then swung across the road, completely blocking it. From behind, two Fiats drew up, cutting off any retreat. The ambush was complete.

A well-dressed man got out of the cabin of the trailer truck and opened up on Swint's car with a machine gun. Then, from both sides and behind, a fusillade of bullets fired by 15 terrorists ripped into Swint's as well as the bodyguards' car.

Swint, his chauffeur and one bodyguard were killed and the other bodyguard was critically wounded before any of them could use their guns. A blond youth was seen administering a *coup de grâce* with a machine gun to Swint as he lay dying. The terrorist commandos then broke up and fled before police arrived.

Until this attack, the bloodiest yet, businessmen generally had been kidnapped and returned unharmed by the terrorists after paying ransoms that have added up to an estimated \$20 million in a year. So far this year there have been more than 160 reported kidnappings in Argentina, including nine foreigners—three of them Americans.

**Less Charitable.** Police said that the deadly efficiency of the ambush indicated it was the work of the extremist, self-styled Marxist-Leninist People's Revolutionary Army, which this time was out to kill, not kidnap. This same organization last May fatally wounded a Ford-of-Argentina executive and slightly wounded another. After threatening more terrorism, the group demanded and got \$1,000,000 from Ford for ambulances and medical and school supplies for the Argentine poor. This time the motive was less charitable. The shooting was seen instead as part of a systematic effort to scare off foreign capital and at the same time discredit the beleaguered regime of Juan Perón, who has vowed to bring terrorism under control.

• • •

The state of health of President Juan D. Perón, 78, long a subject of concern, suddenly took a turn for the worse last week and thus became one more liability for a regime already afflicted with political terrorism and a limping economy. The caudillo was bedridden in his suburban Buenos Aires residence with what was variously described as either the recurrence of a bronchial condition or a mild heart attack. What worried nervous Argentines was that his illness was serious enough to require his wife Isabellita, the Vice President and a former cabaret dancer, to preside over last week's Cabinet meetings.

## SOVIET UNION

### Southern Corruption

They are a proud, dark-eyed people who love music, drinking and all that goes with the good life. Anywhere else in the world, their talent for living would be found at least amusing. But in the Soviet Union, the self-indulgent lifestyle of the 5,000,000 Soviet Georgians has become a national scandal. The Kremlin has ordered a purge of the Georgian section of the Communist Party.

The trouble is that Georgians appear to be allergic to Communism as practiced by the more austere Slavs to the north. Georgians generally tend to behave as if they have already done enough for the cause by producing a son like Joseph Stalin for the Party.

Until recently, there was a tradition of official tolerance for the way free-enterprising Georgians cut the corners of Communist economics. A stock figure in Soviet folklore is the Georgian with a suitcase of scarce goods in one hand and a bribe ready in the other. But the scale of Georgian wheeling and dealing grew intolerable to party officials in the Kremlin, mainly because it began to spread, Mafia-style, beyond illegal business deals into politics. "Noxious influ-



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ences led to corruption, moral and political," admitted a report of the Georgian Communist Party central committee two weeks ago. "Party and economic leaders were led on a leash by dark dealers and became their obedient servants."

The latest purge was instigated by the new Georgian party leader, puritanical former Police Chief Eduard Shevardnadze, 45. He was put in his job a year ago to bring the Georgians into line and reduce what a party paper calls their "deviations from the norm of Communist morality." So far he has swept at least 45 officials out of the local party. In addition to economic crimes, the purged party officials were accused of accepting payoffs and, equally vile, indulging in ideological slackness.

**New Leaf.** Part of Shevardnadze's campaign is to expose shocking examples of Georgian gracious living like the one recently revealed by the local party newspaper, *Zarya Vostoka*. It reported that 4,000 families, including those of many party officials, had simply dropped out of the Communist economic system and were living by private enterprise—on choice acreage along Georgia's Black Sea coast. The most lurid revelation was saved for the grave pages of *Pravda* itself: The party newspaper reported that with "party connivance" scores of "marble dachas" had sprouted "like mushrooms" all over Georgia, while shortages persisted in school buildings and housing for the average Soviet factory worker. One dacha had a billiard room and marble floors in the bathroom. Another, built "with the lavishness of the czars," cost 350,000 rubles (\$490,000) to construct and another 158,000 rubles (\$221,200) to decorate.

The Georgians this time have obviously gone too far. But despite the purge, there is no evidence that they intend to turn over a new leaf. Party Boss Shevardnadze has felt it necessary to warn offenders: "No one will have indulgence regardless of rank, age or former merit."

## SOUTH KOREA

### Protests Against Park

No flower can remain in full bloom for more than ten days. No man alive can last longer than ten years in power.  
—Korean proverb

Ever since he rode to power in 1961 as head of a military junta, South Korea's President Park Chung Hee has done his best to disprove that adage—primarily by trying to suppress all political opposition. The press has been gagged, the National Assembly turned into a rubber-stamp parliament, and political rallies have been banned (except those approved by the government). Despite these and other unpopular measures—including the enlarging of South Korea's feared secret police, which

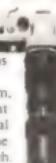
Look at it this way:  
After the year we've all gone through,  
please,  
don't give just ordinary scotch.

## A Zoom can rush in where angels fear to tread

How many times have you tried to frame a picture in your viewfinder and found out you were too close or too far away...and you couldn't move in or out?

That's why so many 35mm camera owners are buying Vivitar zoom lenses. Here is one light, compact lens that zooms all the way from 85mm to 205mm.

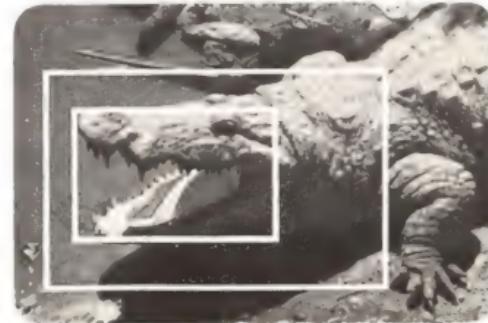
It replaces the usual 85mm, 100mm, 135mm and 200mm, but better than that you can pick any of 121 different focal lengths to get the exact framing of the slide you want without moving an inch.



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## Vivitar Zoom Lens





STUDENTS CLASH WITH POLICE IN SEOUL

is called the CIA—opposition persists.

The epicenter of protest is at the campus of Seoul National University, whose rebellious students helped topple the regime of former Strongman Syngman Rhee in 1960. What galvanized the students this time was the diplomatic furor created by the kidnapping, purportedly by CIA agents, of exiled former Opposition Leader Kim Dae Jung from a hotel in Tokyo. At a rally last month, 400 students demanded an end to the terrorist rule of the CIA, the "whole truth" about the Kim abduction and restoration of press freedom.

Since then, all of the university's 13 colleges have been virtually closed down by boycotting students. Last week the main campus of the university was deserted, and the boycott had spread to other leading schools. At two women's universities, Ewha and Sukmyung, students wearing black ribbons to symbolize the death of democracy voted for a classroom boycott to last until all arrested students were freed and campus surveillance stopped. A thousand students of Yonsei University also walked out, shouting "Don't trample on the conscience of the nation."

Of more than 239 students arrested, at week's end 13 were still in jail. Two of the students were sentenced to prison terms last week, one for 18 months and the other for one year. Authorities also closed privately operated Korea University for one week after 2,000 students clashed with riot police.

The demonstrations came at an



PRESIDENT PARK  
*Trampling on conscience.*

awkward moment for Park since they took place just when the U.N. General Assembly was embroiled in a debate on the Korean question. For North Korea's backers among the Communist and Third World countries, the demonstrations were further evidence that Park's government lacked legitimacy. The Soviet-Chinese-backed resolution called for eventual reunification of the two Koreas with a single U.N. membership. A Western counter-resolution calling for dual U.N. membership for both Korean states was fiercely opposed by the North Koreans, who see it as a design to perpetuate the division of the country. But since neither resolution stood a clear chance of adoption, the issue was postponed last week. Instead, the U.N. agreed to await the resumption of North-South talks on steps toward reunification.

The talks were suspended last summer because of Pyongyang's objections to the principal South Korean delegate, CIA Chief Lee Hy Rak. There is now speculation among foreign and South Korean officials that Park will appoint a new chief delegate, thereby starting a process of downgrading a hated lieutenant who has clearly become an international and domestic liability.

**Blocked Avenues.** Meanwhile, Kim Dae Jung—the cause of the uproar—is preparing to take a research fellowship at Harvard. "I am as much concerned with politics as ever, and my views have not changed," he told TIME's Tokyo Bureau Chief Herman Nickel. "But under the present circumstances it has become impossible for me to carry out political activities here. If I wanted to organize a political party, people would not be free to join. If I wanted to make a speech, I would not be able to get a place where I could give it. So all avenues are blocked. Until things become free again, I will concentrate on studying in the United States." Government officials have intimated that since Kim is no longer under house arrest, he is free to leave the country. But he is still waiting impatiently for the Korean authorities to issue the promised passports to him, his wife and youngest son.

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20 mg "tar" / 1.4 mg nicotine av. per cigarette. FTC Report SEPT. 73

## PEOPLE



THE WAYNES AT HIGH NOON

It has not been long since Superpatriot **John Wayne**, 66, recorded a pep talk for his countrymen called *America, Why I Love Her*. Among the numbers was *The Good Things*, a panegyric to the mundane virtues of American life: "A fireman who climbs a tree and sets a little kitten free," and, of course, the "men who love their wives." It turns out that Wayne's memory of the good things is faulty. His third wife Pilar, 45, will not, after all, be the girl with whom he rides into the sunset, because after 19 years of marriage and three children, the Waynes have split up.

It was just a small family celebration. **Caroline Kennedy**, home for Thanksgiving, was due to turn 16 on Nov. 27, and her brother **John** was 13 on Nov. 25. Together they shared a quiet party before Caroline returned to her boarding school in Concord, Mass. For Caroline, the 27th also marks a changing of the guard. Congress provided Secret Service surveillance only until her 16th birthday, but her mother, Mrs. Aristotle Onassis, says that Caroline "will always have ample protection."

His catnip-to-the-ladies' performance as Henry Higgins in *My Fair Lady* suggested that a middle-aged professor could have sex appeal. So it was only fitting that the profession should finally award **Rex Harrison**, 65, an academic degree, a Doctorate of Humane Letters from Boston University. But Rex is not the only performer-scholar in the family. In London, Granddaughter **Cathy Harrison**, 14, is piling up theatrical credits, even as she studies for school exams. Cathy has appeared in two movies, including Robert Altman's *Images*, and in a TV drama series. Now, she says, "I'd like to do a play." Father **Noel Harrison**, himself an actor, is encouraging. And Grandfather Rex, founder of yet another British theatrical dynasty, says, "I am delighted."

"It calls up the image of Manhattan with two vertical wave patterns, making one think of the Hudson and East Rivers, while the varied vertical projections in between evoke the silhouetted figures of the Manhattan scene." So said brilliant, Kiev-born **Louise Nevelson**, 73, doyenne of American sculptors, as she supervised the assembling of her splendid gift to the city in which she has lived for 53 years: *Night Presence IV*, a 22½-ft.-high, 4½-ton rusty steel abstraction. Wearing a long, chinchilla-trimmed orange paisley coat, velvet jockey cap and sturdy black lace-ups, Nevelson was a little doubtful about the location of her work among the luxury apartment houses of upper Park Avenue. Some passersby agreed with her, though not for the same reason. "It's hideous!" exclaimed a matron only to be overruled by a three-



NEVELSON'S MANHATTAN

year-old completely attuned to Nevelson's wave length. "It isn't the Statue of Liberty," he cried. "What's it called?"

**Prince Charles**, 25, will one day rule all Britain. In the meantime, as Duke of Cornwall he busies himself on a smaller scale, cementing feudal relations with the tenants who live on his extensive Cornwall demesnes. Reviving a ceremony last performed in 1937 by his grandfather, King George VI, Charles visited his fief to claim tribute: a load of firewood, a goatskin cloak, a pound of pepper, gilt spurs, a hunting bow, a salmon spear, a pair of white gauntlets, two greyhounds, a pound of herbs and 100 old shillings. But he left without claiming one of a feudal lord's most ancient rights: the hand in marriage of any one of his tenants' daughters. Instead, Charles flew off to the Duke of Wellington's Granada estate for a spot of partridge shooting accompanied by the daughter of the house and reportedly one of his favorite birds, Lady Jane Wellesley.

A carriage fit for a king used to be designed like a London taxicab to permit a properly attired gentleman to enter and exit without having to remove his top hat. In Tokyo on an unofficial visit, Tonga's jovial giant of a monarch, **Taufa'ahau Tupou IV**, 55, was made painfully aware of how times have changed. The King (6 ft., 3 in., 300 lbs.-plus) was hard-pressed to squeeze into Emperor Hirohito's limousine even without a topper. Certain other diplomatic chores were equally harrowing. The King just could not espouse the country's little cars, mainly because he could hardly climb into one, let alone out.



CAROLINE TURNS 16



CATHY IN STUDIOS



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so many trees."**

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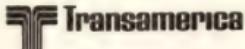
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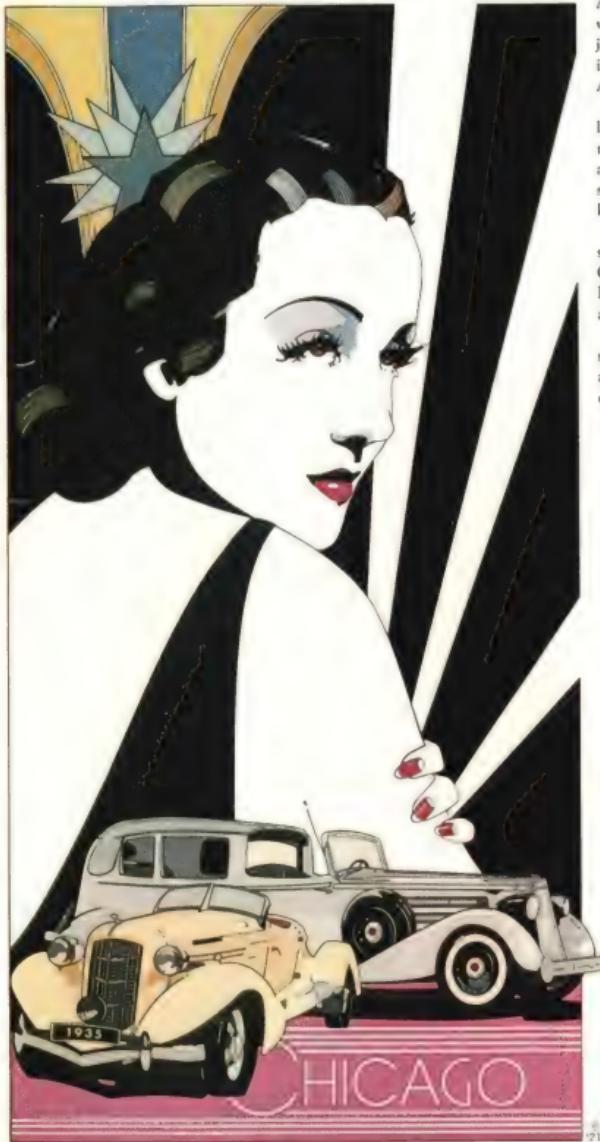
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# It was Some Party. Ballantine's was there.



A NOVEMBER night in 1935. The Chicago Auto Show. Snappy, sleek cars and hopelessly auto-nuts people. At the International Amphitheatre, a crowd waits to see what delights Detroit has offered just in time for Christmas. "Ashtrays in the backseat? Fingertip control? A radio? How marvelous!"

Ladies in polo coats look longingly at a LaSalle and talk about moving to the country. Those who already owned cars try not to look smug as they whisper about a new kind of restaurant called a "drive-in."

A line forms to try out the speaking tube in a Packard limousine. Couples sigh over a gift-wrapped Pierce-Arrow. America was having a love affair with the automobile.

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## THE PRESS

### The Great Slap Flap

The *Village Voice* called it "one of the most terrifying news stories about President Nixon to date." As aptly as any, that hyperbole summed up the hypersensitive relations that now exist between a suspicious press and a defensive President. Some White House reporters thought that there was too little substance in the "terrifying" story—Nixon's "slapping" of a citizen at McCoy Air Force Base near Orlando, Fla.—to merit any attention at all. Yet publication of accounts by some papers, plus an angry White House counterblast that forced still more coverage, blew the incident into one of the strangest press stories of a strange year.

It began when the President decided

with the disclaimer that they still thought the event "insignificant." But recalling Eaton's demonstration, Zimmerman filed a story to the *Journal* for the issue of Monday, Nov. 19, saying that Nixon had "soundly slapped" the man's face. In a story for the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, James Deakin quoted from the pool account but added a detail that he had personally learned from Cooney and Eaton: "Reporters heard the man say it was a hard slap."

The Deakin and Zimmerman articles drew furious denials from Deputy Press Secretary Gerald Warren, who called their pieces examples of "irresponsible and twisted accounts which have been circulated in recent months." The White House perhaps had grounds to complain, but its attempt to use the

story as a means to discredit general press criticism seemed heavy-handed to most newsmen.

The man involved in the incident was finally located: Air Force Master Sergeant Edward Kleizo, 50, who, immediately after the event, had told Eaton "the President slapped me." But he gave CBS a slightly different version two days afterward. What Nixon had actually asked, Kleizo recalled, was "something like, 'Are you the boy's grandmother or grandfather?'"—a more understandable slip of the tongue than the total confusion of gender reported originally. Then, Kleizo continued, "he looked back and tapped me affectionately on the cheek, sort of like putting shaving lotion on."

Had some reporters balloonized a friendly gesture into a minor tempest? Deakin's boss, *Post-Dispatch* Washington Bureau Chief Richard Dudman, denied it: "That was uncommunicative behavior on the part of the President, and it therefore should be reported." But since the original eyewitness reporting had been uncommonly ambivalent, some doubt remained as to just what had happened.

### Policing Chicago Cops

When a grand jury indicted three Chicago policemen last week for assaults on civilians, not a peep of protest emerged from the Chicago *Tribune*, a longtime champion of the city's 13,000 men in blue. Reason: the *Trib*'s own reporting had prompted the indictments, as well as continuing investigations of five other patrolmen. Five months of relentless digging had produced an eight-part series that is probably the most thorough examination of police brutality ever published in a U.S. newspaper.

A teen-ager lost his left eye after being slugged by a policeman on the prowl for a much older suspect. An upper-middle-class housewife, wearing only a



EDITOR JONES (SEATED) & TRIB TEAM

Extraordinary precautions.

nighgtown and housecoat, was dragged from her home, thrown down a flight of concrete stairs, handcuffed and belabored with obscenities by a police sergeant who claimed that she had urged her dog to attack him. During a family sidewalk fracas, a pregnant woman was pounded about the abdomen by a patrolman; although the woman has four other normal children, the infant born after that beating has a drooping eyelid, a bone protruding from his chest and a congenital heart defect.

**Fearful Victims.** The exposé was proposed by Investigative Reporter George Bliss, 55, whose muckraking team won a Pulitzer Prize last year for a series on voting fraud. Like many other Chicago newsmen, he had been hearing of police brutality for years. Last spring, Bliss became convinced that many accusations coming from blacks were true. He also suspected that police violence was not limited to the ghetto. *Tribune* City Editor Bill Jones agreed that the subject deserved full investigation and assigned Bliss three young reporters: Pamela Zekman, 29, a former social worker with four years experience on the *Trib*; William Mullen, 29, a rewrite man for most of his six years at the *Trib*; and Emmett George, 25, a black reporter who had joined the paper only a few weeks earlier after stints with U.P.I. and *Jet* magazine.

The team set to work in late June and was immediately denied access to the files of the police department's internal affairs division, the office responsible for investigating brutality complaints. Eventually, however, a few policemen did cooperate. From these and other sources the Bliss team obtained hundreds of names of people involved in brutality cases. All told, the reporters investigated more than 500

\*Standing left to right George, Bliss, Mullen, Zekman.

MASTER SERGEANT KLEIZO & NIXON  
Mother? Grandmother?

ed to greet well-wishers after his televised news conference at Disney World. Watched by two pool reporters—William J. Eaton of the Chicago *Daily News* and Matthew Cooney of Westinghouse Broadcasting Co.—Nixon came to a man and a young boy in the airport crowd. As Eaton and Cooney later told it, Nixon asked the man whether he was the boy's "mother or grandmother." Apparently puzzled, the man replied, "Neither." Peering for a closer look, the President replied, "Of course not," and gave what Eaton and Cooney described as "a light slap" to the man's face.

Neither reporter felt at the time that the incident deserved mention in the summary of presidential activities that they, as pool reporters, were to prepare for the larger White House press corps. Eaton, however, mentioned the "slap" to *Wall Street Journal* Reporter Fred L. Zimmerman and demonstrated it as a stinging blow to the cheek. Zimmerman later checked details with Cooney. As rumors of the incident spread Cooney and Eaton were persuaded by colleagues the next day to write up a supplemental account. They prefaced it

## THE PRESS

cases, of which 37 were selected to appear in the stories.

The team found that many victims and witnesses were reluctant to talk. Says Zekman: "People were afraid of the police department. We had to convince them that we were sincerely trying to pursue a social evil." Whenever this reticence was broken down, the team took extraordinary precautions to document material. To reduce the chances of reporting errors, key interviews were conducted by two newsmen. Injured victims were asked to provide medical records and given lie-detector tests. People with police records were dropped, as were witnesses whose accounts proved to contain even the smallest inaccuracies.

The reporters found their five-month task physically and emotionally exhausting. Emmett George was shocked to discover that race was relatively unimportant in police brutality: "I found that there are a lot of black officers involved. Some of the most sadistic people were black, and those people need to go off the force first." Zekman was so moved by the case of the deformed boy whose mother had been beaten during pregnancy that she has arranged corrective surgery. The team rarely took a weekend off and usually worked double shifts. Jones last week was sending the four on vacations, hoping that their effort to police cops will now make the grand jury work overtime.

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## Hugh and Marlene and Bob and Helga

"There is no Helga but Helga," pants the copy accompanying a nude layout in the December *Penthouse*, "and Helga is her name." While there is demonstrably a girl in the *Penthouse* pictures, there is no Helga, and Helga is not her name. She is Model Marlene Appell, and when she learned in Munich last week that she was on display in *Penthouse*, she was fit to be clothed. She remembers posing for German Photographer Michael Holtz last spring. But, she claims, "I was paid a piddling fee, and I was never informed that I was to be sold to *Penthouse*. If Michael had told me, I would never have given permission, since I consider *Penthouse* a pornographic magazine."

Which is odd, because Marlene has already received extensive U.S. coverage in Hugh Hefner's *Playboy* and *Oui*, archivals of Publisher Bob Guccione's *Penthouse*. She was featured as one of *Playboy's* "Girls of Munich" in August 1972, an exposure that won her a spot on *Oui's* November 1972 cover

and a centerfold spread inside ("Marlene: The Blonde Angel"). Which is again odd, because Guccione refuses to photograph models for *Penthouse* who have appeared nude elsewhere. He also insists that his models give their real names for publication. Does he feel he was snookered into running pictures of a *Playboy* and *Oui* veteran, and a falsely named one at that? Says the gallant Guccione: "She belongs to the world."

And what of *Penthouse* readers? Should they feel snookered by the overheated description of a totally fictitious "Helga Schiller"—ostensibly born in Bremen, raised by an accountant and his actress wife, a "homeless woman at home in supertechnology's global village" who, at 21, is toying with the idea of a sadomasochistic relationship? Marlene, 26, is actually a sometime Munich actress and the girl friend of one of Germany's most successful record producers, Monty Lüfther. On the other hand, have any *Penthouse* fans actually read the "Helga" copy?



OUI COVER GIRL MARLENE



PENTHOUSE UNCOVER GIRL HELGA

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## A Prosecutor General?

For much of the time, Watergate has seemed to be a tangle of crimes in search of a prosecutor. So far, four different permanent and temporary groups—with some overlapping lawyers—have succeeded to the task of running the overall Washington investigation. Last week the Senate was still stirring the mix as two bills were reported out of committee. One would approve the latest Administration choice, Leon Jaworski; the other would authorize the judiciary to appoint a special prosecutor.

The continuing uncertainty swirls around one constant: the U.S. system is not very thoughtfully set up for dealing with misconduct that involves the top ranks of an Administration. As a result, some legal experts are urging a step beyond the naming of a special prosecutor for the special case of Watergate. They suggest the appointment of a full-time, permanent prosecutor who would have ongoing authority to deal with corruption and wrongdoing by any federal officials at any time.

"Public doubt that official and campaign misconduct will be prosecuted is perhaps the gravest weakness of our political system," says Lloyd Cutler, an influential Washington lawyer who has taken the lead in pushing the permanent-prosecutor proposal. The nation, he argues, cannot afford to address this lack of public confidence only when high corruption happens to come to light.

Cutler, who previously directed the commission on violence under Lyndon Johnson and headed a committee on the emergency administration of justice following the 1968 Washington riots, has worked out some particulars of what might be called the Office of the Public Prosecutor General. The P.P.G. would be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate for a term of 15 years; he would be funded by Congress and could be dismissed only for a gross breach of duty or for committing a crime. To curb political ambition, he could be barred from subsequently holding any elective federal office.

The P.P.G.'s job, says Cutler, should

be limited to investigating and prosecuting "charges involving official misconduct and campaign law violations" by the Administration. California Senator Alan Cranston is readying a bill incorporating many of Cutler's specifics. Common Cause's John Gardner has also supported the idea in speeches.

**Red Meat.** Watergate aside, special prosecutors have appeared in the past on federal, state and city levels. Calvin Coolidge appointed Republican Owen J. Roberts and Democrat Atlee Pomerene as joint administrators of the investigation of the Harding Administration's Teapot Dome scandal. Twice in the past dozen years, Chicago has turned to Attorney Barnabas Sears to pursue charges involving the city's police force. In New York City, Judge Samuel Seabury raked and ultimately broke the corrupt Roaring Twenties administration of Mayor Jimmy Walker. Thomas Dewey probed the "politico-criminal alliance" that underlay the city's racketeering in the '30s.

Now state-appointed Maurice Nadjari is investigating New York City's criminal justice system. Some legal experts and politicians have suggested that Nadjari's office, established for an open-ended term, be made permanent. They argue that time and money are wasted when a special office has to be set up to handle specific cases of corruption.

The U.S. already has a permanent scrutineer of sorts for some kinds of political malfeasance. The Comptroller General, who heads the General Accounting Office, is charged by Congress with determining whether Government programs are being carried out in accordance with the law. In fact, new statutes have ordered Comptroller General Elmer Staats to investigate candidate compliance with campaign-spending reforms. He is somewhat toothless as a watchdog, however, having the power only to recommend that the Justice Department consider prosecution.

Many lawyers are cool toward the idea of a permanent prosecutor. Orville Schell, president of the New York City Bar Association, sees difficulties in finding the right man. "What great trial law-

yer is going to take a job that only comes into existence when there is federal misconduct?" Schell wonders. Columbia Criminal Law Professor Richard Uviller is also concerned about the work load. "I wouldn't want to set up such an office unless there were red meat for him to dig into."

Sadly, the meat may be there. Harvard Law Professor Stephen Breyer, who served in Archibald Cox's office last summer, says: "The number of complaints that came in suggested that there might be things wrong in many departments." He sees three likely levels of response in any P.P.G.'s office. Serious complaints would trigger a staff investigation; relatively minor ones would be referred to the relevant agency; in some middle cases the agency's reply might then suggest to the P.P.G. that he should look into the matter after all.

In sum, Breyer sees the appointment of a permanent special prosecutor as "an awfully good idea." After all, he declares, "how else are we going to have an organization that people will see as neutral, where they can go with complaints against the Government?"

## Squad-Car Skid

Do police patrolling in squad cars really cut the crime rate? Newly named FBI Director Clarence Kelley decided to test the long-accepted axiom last year when he was chief of police in Kansas City, Mo. Kelley selected three urban areas that had similar crime and population patterns. In one, all cruising squad car patrols were eliminated; the second was covered by five cars, just as it had been before the experiment; the third area was flooded with 15 cars. The year-long experiment, which ended in October, indicates that patrol cars have no significant effect on crime. In each of the three neighborhoods, the number of murders, rapes, assaults, robberies, burglaries, grand larcenies and auto thefts varied by less than 6% from the average total of 13,100. Indeed, the area with the fewest crimes—by a slight amount—was the neighborhood that had no regular patrol cars at all.

## RELIGION

### The Mother Departs

She was born in France 95 years ago, the daughter of a Parisian banker of Egyptian lineage. Dark-haired and beautiful, she might have grown up in that age of *fin de siècle* elegance to become one of those delicate butterflies that flutter through the paintings of Renoir. But even as a child Mira Alfassa had had mystical experiences, and the Paris salons she commanded were a circle of devotees of the occult. In 1914 she visited India with her second husband, French Diplomat and Writer Paul Richard. In the French colonial city of Pondichéry, Richard introduced her to the Indian visionary Sri Aurobindo, a former revolutionary turned mystic. She immediately became Aurobindo's disciple. "His presence," she wrote in her diary, "is enough to prove that... darkness shall be transformed into light."

In 1920, the Richards returned to Pondichéry. Paul later went back to France, but Mira stayed. Aurobindo pronounced her "the Divine Mother," his spiritual partner in leading mankind toward a new consciousness. When Aurobindo retired into near-hermitic seclusion in 1926, Mira took over the direction of his ashram—the community of devotees that had grown up around him in Pondichéry. Six years his junior, she

continued propagating his doctrine that man was on the threshold of a new phase of evolution toward perfection.

To help men become "conscious collaborators" in their evolution, Aurobindo taught his own humanistic version of yoga. While traditional yoga disciples strive to free the spirit from the body's domination, Aurobindo sought to transform earthly existence by bringing the divine down into it. Aurobindo's vision of a "supramental" human consciousness has often been compared to Teilhard de Chardin's hopes for an ever-increasing spiritualization of man and his world. "I saw them cross the twilight of an age," Aurobindo wrote in his 24,000-line epic poem *Savitri*, "the sun-dyed children of a marvelous dawn."

Aurobindo died at the age of 78 in 1950, but the Mother remained vigorous into her 90s. In recent years, she supervised the still-unfinished construction of a dream of her own: Auroville, a utopian international community near Pondichéry that is planned for 50,000 residents. The Sri Aurobindo Society, which she founded in 1960 to coordinate the activities of the ashram and Auroville, now has centers in 23 countries, including eleven in the U.S.

Some members seemed to hope that the Mother had so infused herself with the divine that she had achieved the gift



MIRA ALFASSA (ca. 1950)

A vision of utopia.

that Aurobindo predicted for the spiritualized beings of the future: bodily immortality. Even as Mira grew feeble during the past year, fervent followers argued that she was regenerating her aging cells. But Aurobindo had been prepared for her death. When his tomb was being built, he ordered an extra vault for Mira, next to his own. Last week the Mother finally joined him

### A Campaign to Retire Father O'Malley

Roman Catholic priests, it seems, are bedeviled by false images in Gotham. According to Father George Thompson, vocations director of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York, many New Yorkers see their priests in the Father O'Malley image made popular by Bing Crosby in *Going My Way* three decades ago—a genial sort of fellow who solves parish problems so deftly that he has plenty of time to write and croon catchy tunes. Others, whether Catholic themselves or not, view priests as troubled souls who may soon debar from

the ministry to marry, or simply as the impreachers of weekly bingo games.

To elevate the priests' public image, New York's Terence Cardinal Cooke last week launched a \$100,000 ad campaign under the eye-catching slogan THE NEW YORK PRIEST GOD KNOWS WHAT HE DOES FOR A LIVING. Sample headline: FATHER JOHN O'LEARY. IF HE'S NOT IN CHURCH, HE'S PROBABLY IN JAIL. As it turns out, O'Leary is a chaplain at the Manhattan House of Detention, the infamous Tombs. Other ads show a black priest who runs a com-

munity center in Harlem, and a monsignor in Peekskill, N.Y., whose most important job, during a twelve-hour working day, "is to celebrate the Mass."

In all, five different ads will appear over the next 13 weeks in selected New York metropolitan newspapers and regional editions of national magazines. Financed by special donations and created largely by volunteer talent, the campaign also amounts to a soft-sell for priestly vocations. For anyone interested in becoming a priest, the ads carry a special New York City telephone number, 774-3787, which, of course, can also be dialed: P-R-I-E-S-T-S.

PRISON CHAPLAIN JOHN O'LEARY (LEFT) & NEW YORK'S TERENCE CARDINAL COOKE VIEW AD FEATURING O'LEARY



Father John O'Leary.  
If he's not in church, he's  
probably in jail.



## CINEMA

### Terminal Station

IDaho TRANSFER

Directed by PETER FONDA  
Screenplay by THOMAS MATTHIESSEN

Here is a cautionary tale of the future with none of the usual trappings of science fiction: no oozing monsters, no batteries of blinking, beeping machinery. Instead, we have a very deliberate and closely controlled film graced with a slow, severe beauty that makes its quiet edge of panic all the more chilling.

The action of *Idaho Transfer* begins during what one character calls "an eco-crisis" that threatens to make America barren and kill off its population. At a Government project somewhere in the Idaho countryside, a scientist is supposed to be working on material transfer—the transportation of physical objects into the future. But he has got rather ahead of himself and discovered a means of moving people forward in time. He shares the secret of his time machine only with a staff of young people, which includes his two daughters. Because these young staffers are the only people whose bodies are still resilient enough to withstand the physical rigors of the time trip, the scientist elects to send them off into the future as

a vanguard and last hope of humanity.

It sounds at first like pure youthful egotism: don't trust anyone over 25 to save the world. But Director Fonda and Scriptwriter Matthiesen are getting at something different. For all the kids' youth, energy and commitment, they do not do much better than their elders. They wander the blasted landscapes of the American future, bickering among themselves, sifting through the ashes of a vanished civilization for some ember to kindle a new world. They do not find one, but instead end up bitter, divided and confused—failed ancestors of a race that will remain unborn.

This is not to say that the vanguard is wiped out. There are survivors, and of an especially dangerous kind. They share with their progenitors a blind, suicidal faith not only in science, but also in the righteousness of anything that is called progress. They bring about a horrifying but crazily logical ending that turns the future into a forbidding present tense.

Besides collaborating with Dennis Hopper on *Easy Rider*, Peter Fonda has directed one previous movie, a fine, elegiac western called *The Hired Hand* (1971). Like that earlier effort, *Idaho Transfer* has a grave, lovely feeling for the contours of the countryside. There



AFTER ECO-CRISIS IN TRANSFER  
A slow, severe beauty.

is also, as in *The Hired Hand*, a simple, quite ravishing musical score by Bruce Langhorne, which mixes acoustic instrumentation with electronic effects. The scores of these two films alone should establish Langhorne as one of the best young pop musicians in the country. He is, hands down, one of the best film composers.

*Idaho Transfer* could have been shrill and preachy in its ecological warning, but Fonda keeps it in check. The

# Long Christmas list?

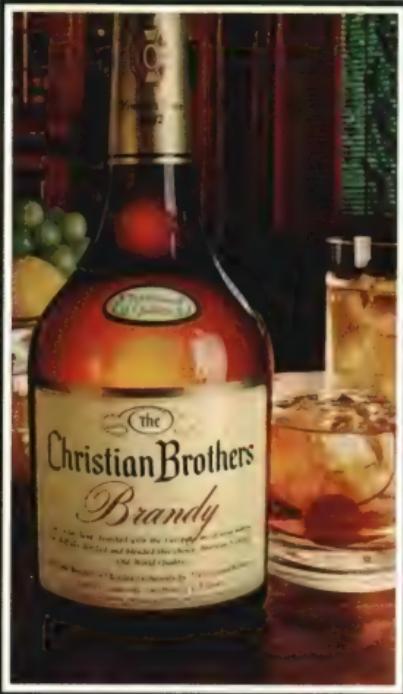
## RELAX

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*Brother Timothy F.S.C.*

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## CINEMA

movie has the sparseness of a classroom documentary, which lends it a nice tone of satire but also often undoes it. The cast, with one exception, is nonprofessional, and their uncertainty and clumsiness with lines not only underplays the drama of the script, but sometimes undercuts it altogether. Vacant-eyed, the actors mumble the dialogue as if reading the instructions on a medicine bottle.

With professional actors, or with nonprofessionals of greater empathy, *Idaho Transfer* could have been better. As it is now, though, the movie stands as an ambitious experiment, and a worthy one.

■ *Jay Cocks*

## Maniacal Zest

I.F. STONE'S WEEKLY  
Directed by JERRY BRUCK JR.

"In the job of covering a capital, there are really certain basic assumptions you have to operate on. The first is that every government is run by liars, and nothing they say should be believed."

THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS



I.F. STONE BY DAVID LEVINE  
*Lying is assumed.*

That is a prima-facie assumption unless proven to the contrary."

There could be no more salutary time than the Watergate era for a tribute to a journalist with such a credo. Jerry Bruck Jr.'s superb and loving documentary about I.F. Stone matches its subject in humor, skepticism and the ability to snatch truth deftly out of deep puddles of propaganda.

Lasting just 62 minutes, unobtrusively narrated by New York Times Columnist Tom Wicker, the film takes its title from Stone's newsletter, which was written, edited, proofed and published by Stone for 19 years. In December 1971, having reached the age of 64, Stone closed the last issue. Bruck ends his film with Stone saying goodbye to his printers—a sequence of rushed, embarrassed

feeling—and a sort of postlude in which Stone gleefully admits something that has been obvious all along: "I really have so much fun I ought to be arrested."

Bruck seems nearly to adopt the tone and format of Stone's paper. The movie is compressed, ironic, a little crude in style, but vigorous and cutting in its anger. Stone used to box off conflicting quotations or incidental insights for ironic illustrative effect in the newsletter, and Bruck does something similar here. He shows Stone making a general point about the dangers of newsmen getting chummy with their sources, then cuts away to a scene of Ron Ziegler playing tennis with an ABC correspondent, while Tricia Nixon looks on. He shows Stone elaborating on the general slipperiness of public officials, with their easy command of doublespeak, then brings the point home with a fast, funny clip from an old press conference by then Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara in which McNamara steps around a tough question with the hurried delicacy of a haughty pedestrian avoiding something ugly on the sidewalk.

There is also a brisk biographical précis, with a few glimpses of some of Stone's colleagues, including his wife Esther, circulation manager of the newsletter. *I.F. Stone's Weekly* would have been better if it had been longer, with more footage devoted to Stone's apprenticeship and the time, admittedly slight, that he spends away from work. But throughout, Bruck catches the same animating qualities that the artist David Levine did in his famous caricature of Stone lifting up the Capitol Dome—what Stone himself calls "that combination of maniacal zest and idiot zeal."

■ J.C.

## Quick Cuts

**FIVE ON THE BLACK HAND SIDE** concerns assorted comic crises in a black household that is edging gradually toward the middle class. The movie is predictable but energetic. The jokes are television sitcom, but they are about topics—Africa, black militancy—that up to now have been virtually smothered in sanctimony and good will. It is refreshing to have them treated, as they are here, with a little cordial disrespect. Director Oscar Williams emphasizes the broadness and artificiality of the material and encourages his actors to play big. Clarice Taylor, as a humiliated housewife, and Leonard Jackson, as her aggressively bourgeois husband, respond with enthusiasm.

**STEEL ARENA.** A bunch of stunt drivers tool around the back country risking their necks for the breezy hell of it, living out some shabby fantasy of success. The drivers are all portrayed by real stunt drivers, which gives the cast a unifying verisimilitude and a certain brazen clumsiness in the expository scenes. These are scant, presumably because everyone is more comfortable behind the wheel. But even the various au-

Kodak Has a Gift for Keeping Christmas.



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A special version of the Pocket 60  
in a special deluxe outfit.

It could make just the right gift for that special someone on your list.

Finished in attractive black chrome, this latest Kodak pocket Instamatic 60 camera has a superb f/2.2 Ektar lens. A sophisticated automatic exposure control. And a precision coupled rangefinder. Also included in the outfit are a magnifico extender, clip-on-case, and both a wrist strap and braided neck strap. Even the outfit case is special. Of padded black vinyl over steel, it converts into a handsome jewelry box by removing the inset tray. Monograms are included for personalizing.

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### CINEMA

tomobile stunts begin to lose their punch the third time around. The plot, almost inevitably, concerns the one driver who wants to push the risk a little further, and how fate slaps him down. Along this weary route some good redneck ambience has been provided, especially in a couple of roadside joints—all smoke, neon, parched customers and deadening good times.

**ROBIN HOOD** is a pleasant enough animated holiday party from the Disney studios. As usual, the villains take the day. Prince John, the regent, is a craven brat, a lion whose crown keeps falling down over his floppy ears and who, in times of stress, sucks his thumb and whimpering for his mother. His consort, Sir Hiss, is a snake in charge of the royal treasury and of soothing the prince. Terry-Thomas supplies the voice for Sir



DISNEY'S FOXY ROBIN HOOD  
A problem of prettiness.

Hiss, who is appropriately gap-toothed, much to the advantage of his forever-flickering tongue. Peter Ustinov makes a pleasingly florid prince, his voice full of empty threat and tenuous regality. Robin, a fox, is a bit of a drag, though, and Maid Marian carries on with the giddy decorum of a sixth-grade classroom monitor.

Even at its best, *Robin Hood* is only mildly diverting. There is not a single moment of the hilarity or deep, eerie fear that the Disney people used to be able to conjure up, or of the sort of visual invention that made the early features so memorable. *Robin Hood*'s basic problem is that it is rather too pretty and good natured. The animation matches the generally pasteurized quality of the film, although Sir Hiss gets about with considerable ingenuity, and Prince John's court, complete with rhinoceros guards, elephant heralds and assorted tiny animals as creatures in waiting, comports itself with suitable indignity.

■ J.C.

## EDUCATION

### Shelves of Learning

It was a typical evening at Triton College outside Chicago. In Technology Center, Instructor Joe Krot explained measuring instruments to his students in Basic Refrigeration and Air Conditioning 010. Inside a cavernous garage, machines whined and motors roared as a squad of grease-smudged men labored over disassembled cars for Auto Technology 036. And in a classroom in Liberal Arts Hall, students in Philosophy 102 discussed linguistic fallacies.

Triton exemplifies a new type of college that is redefining the concept for many Americans: the public community college. From The Bronx to West Los Angeles, these educational supermarkets are offering their varied shelves of learning to a growing clientele. Enrollment nationwide has more than doubled since 1965, to an estimated 2,689,000 this fall. The students are as diverse as the courses they take. Nine-year-old Triton's student body of 16,681 (up from 1,243 in 1965 and 13,034 last year) includes housewives, off-duty cops and laborers in their fifties, as well as pert teen-age coeds.

**One Out of Ten.** Like patrons of regular supermarkets, community college students generally live in the neighborhood. Nearly 90% of Triton's students come from a 58-sq.-mi. section of Cook County near O'Hare International Airport. An area that includes light and heavy industry, tract homes and old mansions, the district has a population of 422,000, spread among such disparate communities as stately River Forest and working-class Melrose Park.

Local taxpayers provide a third of Triton's funding (with tuition and state and federal aid making up the balance). For their money, the citizens of district 504 get a college that is everything they never thought a college could be: cheap, accessible and extraordinarily responsive to their specific needs. One out of every ten district residents has taken courses inside Triton's modern brick-and-glass buildings, which are open from 6:30 in the morning until 10 at night.

Triton's low tuition (\$150 a semester for a full-time student) and closeness to home attract many students in the top ranks of their high school classes, as well as the less able who might find it tough going at other colleges. Triton also attracts adults who are trying to fill gaps in their education. More than half the students attend part time, and many combine their studies with full-time jobs.

There is a course or program to suit virtually every student need and ability. At each level the emphasis is on careers; in fact, Triton calls itself "The Career Center of the Midwest." Students can get associate degrees or one-year



EXERCISE IN WELDING

certificates in any of 104 career areas, from advertising art to police science to diesel or welding technology. Even for the 4,000 students in the university-transfer program, the focus is on the practical. An English course in children's literature, for example, is "recommended for elementary school and library science majors." Says Joseph Quagliano, a former Playboy Club manager who runs Triton's restaurant-training school: "There's no dabbling here. Everyone knows where he's going."

Alert, enthusiastic students and a brisk, businesslike atmosphere are part of the appeal for Triton's hard-working faculty. There are no academic ranks, and all teachers are called "instructor." The emphasis is on teaching, not research, and only a few of the 834-member faculty boast doctorates; many are working mechanics, cooks or other tradesmen and technicians by day, earning a flat \$12 an hour in the evening at Triton.

**Up to Date.** In each career area, outside advisory committees help the faculty shape programs to keep them up to date. The electronics curriculum recently eliminated study of the vacuum tube and now concentrates on transistors and integrated circuits. When job openings slackeden in optical technology and civil engineering, Triton dropped both courses. Among the newest programs: the training of staff for day-care centers.

The faculty prides itself on being able to patch up a student's background learning. Among the more popular offerings are remedial courses in basic writing and mathematics. "We take lower ability kids, yes," says Biology Chairman Don Giersch, "but we're able to instill confidence in a lot that might have bombed out elsewhere right away." Conversely, through the College Level Ex-



RESTAURANT TRAINING AT TRITON



DIESEL TECHNOLOGY  
No dabblers here.

amination Program, older students can get credit at Triton for learning acquired outside the classroom.

Many legislators and establishment educators still treat Triton and its ilk like adolescent stepchildren. Although Illinois' community colleges enroll more than half the students in public higher education in the state, they receive only 13% of the higher-education budget. Similar slights are common across the country. Yet for many students who aspire to being something between ditch-digger and a nuclear physicist, the public community colleges are clearly filling an important void.

# Which color TV needs fewest repairs?

## TV service technicians say Zenith. Again.

For the second consecutive year, a nationwide survey of independent TV service technicians named Zenith, by more than 2 to 1 over the next best brand, as needing fewest repairs.

QUESTION: "In general, of the brands you are familiar with, which one would you say requires the fewest repairs?"

### ANSWERS:



NOTE: Answers total more than 100% because some service technicians named more than one brand. Survey distribution request.

**ZENITH**  
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before the name goes on.

## Voices on the Road

A raspy voice shatters the static, like the roar of a Mack truck rolling by a Volkswagen: "Breaker, break to any westbound diesel. Is the chicken coop open up ahead?" The answer crackles back from the cab of an 18-wheeler lumbering across Indiana: "It's open and the hen is inside the little white church."

Though an outsider might think that the truck drivers had designs on Farmer Brown's henhouse, they are actually talking about a roadside weighing station ("little white church") equipped with scales ("chicken coops") and manned by state inspectors ("hens"). They are speaking in the new highway patois of Citizen's Band radio, a short-wave system now open to public use. Since last year, thousands of drivers have bought CB sets; the fad is most popular in the Midwest.

They often use their radios to avoid inspectors and cops, relay messages home, and call for help in case of accident. Mostly they use CB to gab away the lonely miles. Despite union and federal regulations aimed at limiting driving time, many solo truckers push on for 14 hours per day. CB, they say, helps them to stay alert. It is even replacing the pep pills ("road aspirins") frequently used on long hauls.

**Unlicensed Ears.** CB is safer than drugs and the price is right: the standard set is only \$150. Avoiding just a few overweight fines pays for the radio. "There ain't no way I can make money if I do everything legal," confesses CB Trucker Bill Hostetter, who revs his big van out of Peoria, Ill.

Although the FCC requires CB licenses (\$20 per set) and call numbers, few truckers bother with such details. Their unlicensed "ears," or antennas, waggle from their cabs, picking up signals about 15 miles away. In lieu of call numbers, truckers prefer more personal "handles." These nicknames rip through the air waves, sounding like the cast of *Looney Tunes*: Woodpecker tears by in the night with his co-driver, Stogie; Number One Nose Picker noses ahead of his good buddy Squirrel. Not to be outshaded, other truckers are known as Popper Stopper, Bootlegger, Mule Skinner and Silver Fox. Even the handful of women truckers enter the naming game. Granny Go Go, Lovey Dovey and Truckin' Mama barrel on down the highway with the boys.

Aggravator is by far the best-known woman, burning up the CB waves with nonstop chatter. "She's built like a gorilla," says one trucker. "And her husband Earthquake ain't never said a word on the air." In many cases, CB pals never meet or learn each other's real names.

One of the terms heard most frequently on truckers' CB is "smokey bear"—the highway patrolman. The air

waves virtually stutter with cries of "Breaker, break!" (the standard short-wave request to cut in on a channel) when a smokey sets up his radar. "You better get green stamps [cash] ready," warns a gruff voice on the Indiana toll road. One trooper even ticketed a trucker for urinating by the roadside. That cop's handle is now Fly Inspector. A more common offense is riding overweight, which can result in a fine of several hundred dollars. Some gutsy drivers sneak around weigh stations on secondary roads. If nabbed, an outlaw driver can be jailed as well as fined. As



TRUCKER BOB ("SILVER FOX") WORDEN  
"Is the chicken coop open up ahead?"

the CB network widens, however, the number of fines grows smaller.

Surprisingly, the truckers' talk is generally cuss-free—and not because of the FCC regulations against swearing on radio. Perhaps the most jarring words dirtying the air waves belch from Number One Nose Picker: "That mother truckin' fud pucker!" screams Picker when a "four-wheeler" (passenger car) gets in his way. Most are family men who still refer to their wives as "the better half." GOD IS MY CO-PILOT signs often dangle above the dashboard.

Lately the drivers have made their networks more elaborate by establishing "base stations" in the homes of friends along the highways. Chet Haas, 64, monitors and relays national weather and road reports to passing trucks from his house on the Indiana toll road. Truck stops, too, are getting on the CB wave length, urging drivers low on gas to come in for a fill-up. At the Quaker State Plaza on Interstate 80 in Pennsylvania, employees with handles like Flip Dizzy, Blondie and Squirrel hear from customers regularly. "Get that coffee hot, honey," orders a trucker through the static. "Cause I'm only two miles away."

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JANUARY 1973 \$1.50

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There are rugged pickup trucks for work or play. To help open up new roads or just enjoy the open road. They come with the biggest engines of all the small pickups, and one has a bed a foot longer than anybody else's.



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If this is indeed the year of the small car, this is the year of Toyota.

**TOYOTA**  
Small car specialists for 40 years.

# Who made the difference between oil that's waiting, and oil that's ready and waiting?



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## MILESTONES

**Born.** To Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, 41, vice chairman of the 1972 Democratic Convention and first member of the House of Representatives to be granted maternity leave, and William A. Burke, 34, health care consultant; their first child, a daughter; in Los Angeles. Name: Autumn Roxanne.

**Died.** Allan Sherman, 49, whose album of folk-song parodies, *My Son, the Folksinger*, was a 1960 comedy hit; of emphysema; in Los Angeles. After lean years as a TV gagwriter and obscure success as one of the creators of *I've Got a Secret*, Sherman achieved instant stardom with such lyrics as "Do not make a stinging sandwich./ Pile the cold cuts high./ Customers should see salami Comin' thro' the rye."

**Died.** Jennie Tourel, 63, diminutive, Montreal-born soprano star of the Paris Opéra-Comique who fled to the U.S. during World War II, dazzled Metropolitan Opera audiences with her unusual range (low G to high C) and linguistic fluency (nine languages) and during the 1950s emerged as one of the leading vocal recitalists in the U.S.; of lung cancer; in Manhattan.

**Died.** H.I. (for Haakon Ingolf) Romnes, 66, former board chairman of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co.; of leukemia; in Sarasota, Fla. Dubbed "the Mild Viking" for his Norwegian parentage and his quiet style of leadership, Romnes began his career as a phone installer, and as A T & T board chairman steered the giant corporation from \$13 billion in revenues in 1967 to \$18.4 billion in 1971.

**Died.** Morris Bishop, 80, author of elegant light verse and urbane literary biographies (*Pascal*, *Petrarch*, *La Rochefoucauld*); of a heart attack; in Ithaca, N.Y. Bishop served 24 years as professor of romance literature at Cornell. In 1948, he persuaded the university to hire his friend Vladimir Nabokov, who settled in to write *Lolita*.

**Died.** Sessue Hayakawa, 84, Japanese-born movie villain of the silent screen who in 1958 received an Academy Award nomination for his performance as Colonel Saito, the fanatical, stony-faced prison-camp commander in *The Bridge on the River Kwai*; of pneumonia; in Tokyo.

**Died.** Arthur J. Morris, 92, who in 1910 founded Morris Plan banking, the prototype of consumer credit; in North Tarrytown, N.Y. When he saw wage earners without collateral being denied bank loans, Morris founded a bank that required only character references and a job for security and permitted repayment in installments.



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## MEDICINE

### Teddy's Ordeal

Like other members of his family, Edward M. Kennedy Jr., 12, was highly competitive and athletic. He played on the football team at the Washington area's exclusive St. Albans School, where he is in the seventh grade. He rafted down the Colorado River with his father, U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy, played a vigorous game of tennis on the family courts at McLean, Va., and skied at Sun Valley. Now young Teddy faces a drastic change in his life-style. Last week he was recovering from the amputation of his right leg above the knee—an operation made necessary by the discovery that he had a rare form of bone cancer.

Young Teddy's ordeal began earlier this month when he told his father that his leg hurt and that there was a swelling below his knee. The Senator, who is chairman of the Subcommittee on Health, called a committee consultant, who in turn recommended a specialist Dr. George Hyatt, a professor of surgery at Georgetown University Hospital. Admitted to the hospital for a biopsy and other tests on a Friday morning, Teddy was examined, released for the weekend, and sent back to school the following Monday. But by Tuesday the results of the tests had come back from the lab; the youngster had chondrosarcoma, a fast-growing cancer of the cartilage. The recommended treatment: prompt amputation to prevent the disease from spreading.

Cancer, particularly leukemia, is the leading cause of death from disease in children, but bone tumors are relatively

rare among the young. Of the 3,200 children under 15 who died of cancer in 1969 (the last year for which figures have been tabulated), only 178 had cancer of the bone. Although Teddy's disease, chondrosarcoma, is one of the rarest of childhood bone cancers, it is one of the most controllable. Nearly 70% of its victims are alive ten years after they are treated. That figure compares favorably to the survival rate for osteosarcoma (primary bone cancer), which is only 23% after five years. In both diseases, however, survival is dependent on amputation as soon as possible after the cancer is detected.

**Speedy Recovery.** Once the decision was made, things moved swiftly. Teddy's mother Joan was summoned home from Europe; the diagnosis and the fact that amputation was necessary were kept from the youngster until she arrived. Reporters who had learned of the boy's condition were asked to delay publication of the news. "We didn't want him to hear on the radio or see in the paper that he had cancer," said a family friend. By the time a London newspaper broke the story and prompted its release in the U.S., the Kennedys and Dr. Hyatt had broken the news to Teddy Jr.

Friends say that the child took it well. "You could tell by the Senator's reaction when it was over—he was a mirror of how the boy reacted," said one Kennedy intimate. "He was grim but you could tell things had gone about as well as something like that can go."

The hour-long operation, on the following Saturday morning, appeared to go equally well. Doctors cut back the skin, muscle and other tissue, sawed through the bone above the knee and then drew the remaining tissue down to form a well-padded stump. Teddy's recovery seems to be going even better. A day after the operation, he left his bed briefly and read some of the thousands of letters and telegrams wishing him a speedy recovery.

Doctors will not say when Teddy will be fitted with an artificial leg. But the youngster is not waiting that long to learn how to get around. With the toughness characteristic of his clan, he reported to the hospital's therapy unit last week, and with the aid of parallel bars and a temporary peg leg, began learning to walk again.

### Doctors, Unite!

Jay Harness, 31, a fourth-year resident in general surgery at the University of Michigan Medical Center, is better educated but not so well paid as most of the men who work in nearby automobile factories. But Harness does have at least one thing in common with the auto workers. He too is a union member who believes that only by organiz-

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## MEDICINE

ing can he and his fellow physicians guard against being exploited by their employers. President of the U. of M. Interns and Residents Association, Harness battled for two years before forcing the hospital to recognize his organization as a bargaining unit last February. Now that he has succeeded, he plans to use his newly gained power not only to win better wages but to influence hospital policy as well.

**Jail Clinic.** Prounion physicians like Harness believe that organizing is an idea whose time has come. Though unions still represent only a small fraction of the country's more than 300,000 practicing physicians, their strength is increasing inexorably. The A.M.A., which is frankly alarmed by the trend, estimates that anywhere from 25,000 to 30,000 doctors now pay dues to unions of various types. Most of them belong to the American Federation of Physicians and Dentists, which was founded last January with 7,500 members and now has a national membership of 55,000.

Some of the doctors' unions, like other labor organizations, were formed mainly to get more money for their members. Interns at New York's Albert Einstein College of Medicine banded together to form the Interns and Residents Committee unit to demand—and get—better salaries back in 1967. Organizations in Chicago and other cities have also played a major role in raising the incomes of interns from as little as \$5,000-

\$6,000 a year to more than \$13,000 at some hospitals. Other organizations take an altruistic stance. Harness's union, which staffs a clinic in a county jail, is also seeking to improve patient care.

Many medical unionists are less interested in salaries than in preventing what they see as a gradual encroachment by the Government and the insurance industry on the practice of medicine. Some object to the paper work involved in handling health-insurance claims. "We were founded when it became apparent that the Government as well as others, like insurance companies, were attempting to lodge themselves between the doctor and the patient," says Dr. Harold Yount, 51, a West Palm Beach, Fla., pediatrician who formed the American Physicians Guild in 1965. Others oppose the Government's Phase II regulations that set doctors' fees and regulated their profits.

"Lay persons are dictating to us how much and what kind of care we can deliver to our patients," says Dr. Sanford Marcus, 52, a surgeon who heads the San Francisco-based, 2,300-member Union of American Physicians. "What we are negotiating for is the right to maintain the autonomy of the physician." The U.A.P. has already fought for and won the right to exclude non-doctors from several hospital committees on medical practice.

Thus far, the doctors' unions have been able to accomplish their aims with-



DR. HARNESS EXAMINING PRISONER  
*Improving salaries and patient care.*

out taking to the picket lines. Indeed, doctors generally find the idea of a strike unthinkable. "When someone's sick, you have to treat him," says Dr. Kenneth G. Burton, a general practitioner who heads the two-year-old American Physicians Union, which is headquartered in San Antonio. But it is not inconceivable that U.S. physicians may some day take part in a walkout. Says Yount: "The ultimate weapon of any organization is the threat of withdrawal of services."

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## The Ballet Life of a "True Christian"

By Thanksgiving week, the fall-winter season of the New York City Ballet is usually proceeding at full steam. This year the company planned to be not only performing but also celebrating its 25th anniversary. Instead, the New York State Theater at Lincoln Center, the company's Manhattan home, was darkened by another milestone: for the first time in the company's history, the corps dancers and soloists were on strike. The dancers were angry not so much at management as at their fellow performers in the orchestra, who were still negotiating a new contract but were widely expected to strike after the season got under way. The dancers were not about to be rendered jobless in mid-season.

Thus the anniversary was a muted one, but no less significant for that. Most of the dance world honors the company as one of America's greatest home-grown cultural products and one of the world's finest ballet companies.

To honor the New York City Ballet is, of course, to honor the choreographer in whose image the company has been made, George Balanchine. But it is also to honor a man who last week typically chose to remain in the background, yet is as responsible as Balanchine for what the troupe is today: Lincoln Kirstein. A tall, shambling man who helped Balanchine found the New York City Ballet in 1948, Kirstein has, as he puts it, patched it together over the years "with Band-Aids." He has poured more than \$1,000,000 of his family fortune into the venture and since 1948 has served as the company's general director.

**See Sound.** The story of the Balanchine-Kirstein partnership is told by a knowledgeable source—Kirstein himself—in an elegant new book called *The New York City Ballet* (Knopf, \$25). It boasts more than 450 color and black-and-white pictures of the company's major performers and performances (*see photos on this and facing page*). Kirstein's text is an ingenious juxtaposition of imaginary diary entries describing key events in his life in ballet—the founding of the Balanchine-directed School of American Ballet in 1934, for example—as they might have seemed at the time, and commentary from the vantage point of today. The result brilliantly documents what Balanchine meant by his ambition "to make audiences see sound and hear dancing." It also reveals Kirstein the private man.

The son of a board chairman of

A photographic sampler of outstanding productions created by the New York City Ballet company during its first 25 years includes on this page from top to bottom: *The Cage*, *Slaughter on Tenth Avenue*, *Firebird*, *Orpheus*. Shown at

Filene's department store in Boston, Kirstein was only five when he saw *The Merry Widow* and contracted what Cocteau called the "red-and-gold disease"—the passion for performing arts. After arriving at Harvard, this fever increasingly focused on ballet. Later he began talking to wealthy friends about starting a company that would transplant the classical dance tradition to the exuberant American climate. He was convinced that he had found the man for the job in Balanchine, a former choreographer for Sergei Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes. Kirstein met Balanchine for the first time in 1933, in a London kitchen, while Balanchine was touring with his own troupe. "What Balanchine thought of an anonymous youth who in exaggerated desperation proposed an entire future career in half an hour, he did not say," writes Kirstein.

**Midas Touch.** Balanchine did go to the United States, though. The first Balanchine-Kirstein company, the American Ballet, went broke while on tour in Scranton, Pa., in 1935. Thanks partly to some fast lobbying by Kirstein, the troupe was taken on as the ballet wing of the Metropolitan Opera. Three years later the company dissolved as Balanchine went off to Hollywood to choreograph such films as *The Goldwyn Follies* and *On Your Toes*, and Kirstein enlisted in the U.S. Army.

The pair got together again in 1946 to found the Ballet Society. This became the New York City Ballet in 1948, when the City Center, New York's cultural arm organized under Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, offered the company a home in its theater, a converted Shriners' Temple. Balanchine and Kirstein had found the setting for their lifework.

Kirstein's lifework, as it happens, takes in a good deal more than dance. A poet, art critic and sometime novelist, he seems to have an aesthetic Midas touch that produces quality in virtually everything he takes up. At Harvard he established and edited the magazine *Hound and Horn*, which from 1927-34 was among the most distinguished literary journals. The Harvard Society of Contemporary Art, which he co-founded in 1927, became the prototype for New York's Museum of Modern Art.

This broad range is what makes Kirstein, 66, something of a miracle worker behind the scenes at the New York City Ballet. He likes to say: "I'm a plumber. I just keep the thing work-

center on the facing page are Patricia McBride and Edward Villella in *Jewels*. Clockwise from top left are *Watermill*, *Orpheus*, *Don Quixote* (danced by George Balanchine), *Agon*, *Dances at a Gathering* and *Illuminations*.



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KIRSTEIN & BALANCHINE AT REHEARSAL  
*The red-and-gold disease.*

ing." His methods are as diverse and mysterious as those of a master politician—which he resembles far more than a plumber. He frequently jets off to foreign cities to negotiate future engagements for the company, and returns brimming with enthusiasm for the music and dance of newly visited lands. Balanchine's *Bugaku* (1963) was inspired in part by Kirstein's infatuation with Japanese culture.

Kirstein would not presume to interfere with Balanchine in artistic matters, and he leaves day-to-day office problems to General Manager Betty Cage. But when he hauls his angular 6-ft. 3-in. frame into the building, everybody somehow knows he is there.

He can be kindly to a new dancer and diffident with a doorman. Yet the presence of this "towering man with a frown," as one company member puts it, can be unpredictably explosive. He does not suffer fools gladly, which explains why there is a small legion known as "Kirstein widows"—people he no longer talks to. Among them: New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller, whose early artistic interests he nurtured but with whom he later had differences. Routine fund raising is not his forte, but if money is needed for a special ballet or other project, he may simply ask "Mr. B." how much, then go off to get it.

Balanchine once said of Kirstein "Lincoln is a true Christian, even though he won't admit it. He gives you money and runs away before you can thank him." Kirstein simply says: "We don't talk very much. He doesn't express himself verbally, and I can't dance, so I leave it to him. He moves in time and space and plasticity. One of us is aesthetic, the other political. The politics involves diplomacy, p.r. and money. He is not interested in that. My pleasure is to make it possible for him to do what he wants."

## The Longest Walk

"We had a rather successful day outside," announced Mission Control laconically. That was something of an understatement. For 6 hr. 34 min. 35 sec. last week, two of the three Skylab 3 astronauts, Air Force Lieut. Colonel William Pogue and Physicist Edward Gibson, worked outside their giant orbital station, set up cosmic-ray detectors, made repairs and prepared to take their first good look at Comet Kohoutek. The Thanksgiving Day walk in space, longer by 3 min. 2 sec. than the record jaunt of the Skylab 2 astronauts, marked an auspicious beginning for a historic journey: the last and, NASA hopes, longest (84 days) of the three Skylab missions.

Preparing for their space walk, the astronauts discovered that the long-johns-type "liquid cooling garments," worn under space suits to keep the astronauts comfortable in the blaze of the sun, had become damp and mildewed since they were last used by the Skylab 2 astronauts. The crew doused the garments with disinfectant and spread them around the workshop like soggy laundry. By morning they had dried.

Pogue and Gibson breezed through their initial chores, but then faced a more difficult task. Inchng their way to the underside of Skylab's multiple docking adaptor section, which connects the ferry ship and the main workshop, they made their way to a balky, bowl-shaped radar antenna used to measure irregularities in ground temperatures and the shape of the earth. To fix the antenna, the astronauts performed like an acrobatic team—Gibson anchoring himself to a portable foot restraint and holding tightly onto Pogue so that Pogue could get leverage to work. As a mission controller explained: "If you turn a screw in space, it won't turn but you

will." After three hours of effort, the antenna was free enough to do 75% of its programmed earth-scanning job.

Earlier, soon after the astronauts had docked their command module with Skylab, Pogue (who had shown the least susceptibility to motion sickness during tests on earth) became queasy and coughed up a mouthful of vomit. As a safety measure Mission rules require that all such incidents be reported immediately to the ground. But the crew decided to keep quiet: "It's just between you, me and the couch," said Pogue. There was only one hitch: the astronauts forgot that all conversations in the command module were being taped and later piped to the ground. After discovering the cover-up, Chief Astronaut Alan Shepard, who had modestly stretched NASA rules by smuggling some golf balls along on his Apollo 14 moon trip, took to the microphone in Mission Control and issued a mild reprimand. Replied the Skylab commander, Marine Lieut Colonel Gerald Carr: "O.K., Al. I agree with you. It was a dumb decision."

When the astronauts sat down to their first meal, Mission Control asked, "Were you able to find enough food for six people?" What prompted the odd question was that the previous Skylab team had left their suits stuffed with clothing and propped up as dummies inside the wardroom. Retorted Carr: "The other three don't need much."

## Leap of the Flea

In all of nature, there is hardly a more impressive athlete than the tiny flea. The pesky wingless insects are not only able to jump distances of more than 100 times their body length, but they also make the jumps repeatedly, apparently without tiring. The Oriental rat flea, for instance, can hop steadily for

STUFFED DUMMY LEFT ABOARD ORBITING SPACE STATION BY SKYLAB 2 CREWMEN



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## SCIENCE

three straight days 600 times an hour. Now a group of researchers, led by British Entomologist Miriam Rothschild (of the banking family), believes that it has uncovered the secret of the flea's remarkable prowess.

The main propulsion for the great leaps comes from the large and powerful hind legs. But, the researchers report in *Scientific American*, the muscles there seem inadequate for the job. For one thing, even the fastest possible single muscle contraction could not move the legs rapidly enough. Moreover, muscle efficiency invariably decreases with temperature; yet the flea seems indifferent to cold. Even when the temperature drops close to freezing, its jumping ability seems largely unimpaired.

To find the flea's mysterious source of energy, the researchers turned to high-speed motion picture photography (3,500 frames per second) and chemical analysis. They soon determined that it was hidden in a region called the pleural arch near the base of the flea's hind legs. In flying insects, the pleural arch is the site of the wing-hinge ligaments, the place where the wings are attached to the exoskeleton, the hard outer covering. In fleas, as well as in dragonflies, locusts and certain other insects, the arch serves another purpose: as a repository for an extraordinary elastic-like clump of protein called resilin that can be stretched, and contracted back to its original shape, much faster than any known rubber.

As the flea prepares to jump, it crouches like a runner in the starting block, lowering its head and contracting its body. These actions compress the resilin and engage hooklike "catches" in the flea's exoskeleton that prevent the resilin from expanding prematurely. In effect, the flea has "cocked" itself for the leap. Then, at the right moment, it releases the catches. The resilin snaps back to its original size, like an uncoupling spring, and exerts a sharp downward force on tendons connected to the upper part of the hind legs. That launches the flea into the air. In fact, lift-off occurs so rapidly that the flea reaches peak acceleration of 140 Gs—more than 30 times that endured by astronauts during the launch of the Saturn 5 moon rocket.



TIME Diagram by W. McKeithan

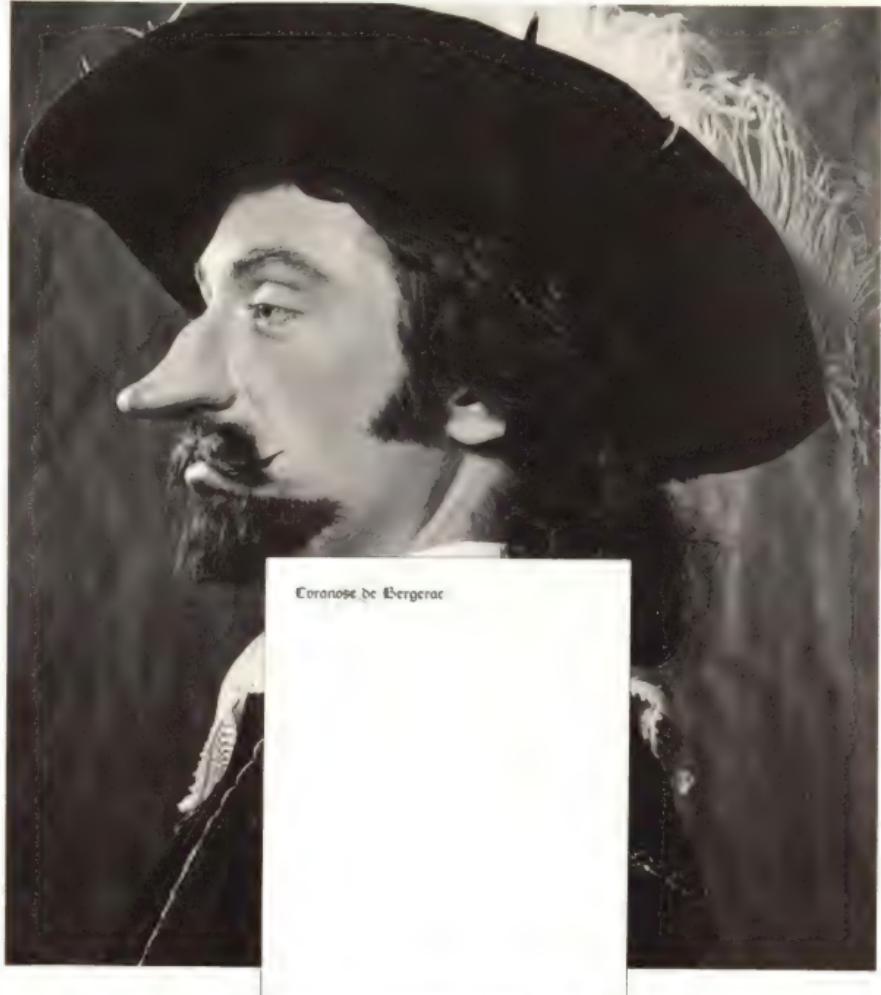


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# Two years with a copper-nickel hull.

## Six months without.

The "Copper Mariner" is a prototype copper-nickel hulled shrimp trawler that fishes off Nicaragua. The top photo is what the hull looks like after two years of constant shrimping. It remains clean and free of fouling, and has never been scraped once. Just given a periodic check-up.

The "Matagalpa" is a twin ship, identical in every detail except for a steel hull. Every six months she must be beached, scraped and painted. The bottom picture shows why.

- Without the "barnacle drag" of a steel hull, the "Copper Mariner" is faster and 26-month test results show a 25% savings on fuel.

- Without the regular hull scraping and painting required by steel-hulled ships, maintenance costs run lower and there are more days of shrimping.

- The final result is that "Copper Mariner" earns \$5,000 to \$10,000 extra income per year.

- Four additional copper-nickel hulled trawlers are now being built for commercial operation in the Indian Ocean.

This new hull concept may be the answer to your needs. For a complete Technical Report on the "Copper Mariner" write: Copper Development Association Inc., 405 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017



COUNT ON COPPER



## Ford Gran Torino Squire for '74.

If you think all mid-size wagons are alike,  
look close at Torino.

**The closer you look, the better we look.** Gran Torino Squire is the solid mid-sized wagon that doesn't compromise on the things wagon buyers look for. It has sleek new styling for '74, and the roominess and solid comfort you need in a family wagon.

**Now look at these wagon features...**

The new Gran Torino Squire gives you important convenience features

that have helped make Ford the Wagon-master. Like Ford's famous 3-Way Doorgate. It opens like a door, with the window up or down ... and like a tailgate. So loading 4'x8' panels is as easy as climbing aboard Torino's optional rear facing third seat. The power tailgate window is standard, and an optional electric rear window defroster is available.



**Wagon luxury with the Squire Brougham option.** There are split bench seats of super soft vinyl, with dual center armrests ... even a carpeted cargo area. Deluxe wheel covers also included.



**Torino's convenience options...** Important features you can order for your Torino wagon include Ford's spare tire extractor, dual remote control side view mirrors and



six-way power seats. Torino's adjustable roof rack makes it easy to secure your extra cargo.

**More that's standard...** The Gran Torino Squire comes with white sidewall steel-belted radial ply tires. It's got power front disc brakes, automatic transmission, and the smooth, quiet ride that Ford Torino is famous for.

If you're looking for a no-compromise mid-sized wagon, visit your Ford Dealer. Have a closer look at Gran Torino Squire for '74. The solid mid-size.

**Wagonmaster again in '74.**



1974 Gran Torino Squire, with Brougham option (shown above), includes the following at extra cost: deluxe wheel covers, bumper group and luggage rack.

# FORD WAGONS

FORD DIVISION



## CONTROLS

# A Lingering Phase-Out

"There is still a lot of inflation ahead of us," said Herbert Stein, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors. In current context, he rates as an optimist. The Labor Department reported last week that retail prices in October rose at an annual rate of 9.6%, almost triple the September pace, and Otto Eckstein, a member of TIME's Board of Economists, warned that inflation in the next three to six months will be "unbelievably bad."

Hundreds of companies have been bombarding the Cost of Living Council with notices of their intention to raise prices on products ranging from beer to brooms to brake linings. Automakers may hear from the COLC this week on their petitions for another round of price boosts, some increases are bound to be granted, and Ford and Chrysler warn that these will not be the last for the '74 models. Retail food costs—particularly those of bread and milk—continue to climb as increases in farm prices work their way to supermarket shelves. The Arab oil squeeze will further inflate the prices not only of oil and gasoline but also of plastics, cosmetics and countless other petroleum-based products. As a result of these pressures, the Nixon Administration will be forced to keep at least some wage-price controls in place much longer than it would like.

**Peeling Off.** The Administration has ruled out any abrupt relaxation of Phase IV's rules. Instead, COLC Director John Dunlop will preside over a lingering phase-out, during which controls will be selectively applied on an industry-by-industry basis. More than 70 industries and companies have so far asked for exemptions, using, says Dunlop, "every conceivable argument that the mind of man can devise." At first, Dunlop and others emphasized granting exemptions when industry leaders promised reasonable price stability in exchange. Now the Administration hope is that by allowing prices to rise, the COLC will encourage companies to expand production and let domestic buyers compete with foreign purchasers, who can already pay any price that they wish. Explains Shultz: "Sometimes it makes sense to peel off controls even if you know there will be some large price increases."

The COLC this week will probably allow aluminum, copper and zinc producers large—but limited—price increases in exchange for a pledge to use the added revenue to build more plants. Earlier, the COLC sought a similar agreement with the fertilizer industry. Fertilizer has been short partly because of

a scarcity of ingredients, including natural gas, and partly because foreigners were buying up so much of what was produced domestically by paying \$25 a ton more than the controlled U.S. price. Dunlop got only a grudging commitment that fertilizer firms would reopen a few shuttered plants and expand production at some other factories. Price controls on fertilizer were nevertheless lifted altogether last month, and since then the companies have boosted their prices 30% or more.

The Administration is also thinking of eventually replacing the Cost of Living Council with a new, less potent

acreage of several crops. As a result, the U.S. is enjoying a record harvest of food, which should ease the continuing rise in supermarket prices. It is doubtful, however, that an agency without a mandate to blow the whistle on private wage-price behavior could do an effective job—and even within the Government, the President himself would have to make sure that other bureaucrats listened when it spoke.

## SHORTAGES

## The Climb in Clothing

On top of the rising costs of food, gasoline and rent, inflation-riddled Americans now have still another worry. As the Christmas shopping season begins, prices of clothes and most other textile



COLC'S JOHN DUNLOP



DRAWING BY MODELL © 1973 THE NEW YORKER MAGAZINE, INC.

"It says here the full impact won't be felt till next month."

federal agency. It would generally monitor the pace of inflation but would probably lack the COLC's power to intercede in private price and wage decisions. Policymakers are intensely debating just what powers should be given to this agency. Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns has proposed making it a permanent "wage-price review board," which would watch for egregious increases and then try to "jawbone" companies or unions into rescinding them. Shultz and Stein oppose jawboning because they think that it interferes with market forces and cannot be used fairly. They believe that a new agency should concentrate on stopping inflationary actions taken by the Government. In the recent past, bureaucratic infighting helped temper prices. Earlier this year, for example, the COLC practically forced Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz to allow farmers to expand

goods are climbing. A man's cotton dress shirt tagged \$12 a year ago is selling for at least \$14 this holiday season—if the shopper can find what he wants at all. An all-silk necktie that went for \$7.50 last year is now \$12.50. At Manhattan's Saks Fifth Avenue, men's wool suits that sold for \$280 earlier this year now cost \$310. Pressing a further rise at the retail counters, wholesale apparel prices in October rose 1.7%—the biggest monthly jump since the Korean War year of 1950.

Prices are rising for a wide variety of reasons: threadbare supplies, bad weather, questionable Government policy and heavy foreign demand. In addition to the shortage of natural fibers, a scarcity of synthetic fibers. The oil shortage is tightening the supply of petrochemicals, which are used in many man-made fabrics.

Silk is in short supply because of la-

## ECONOMY & BUSINESS

MAKING LEVI'S AT LEVI STRAUSS & CO.  
Jeans are getting tight.

bor shortages in the Japanese silk industry and heavy Japanese buying of Chinese silk to meet high demand. Wool is scarce largely because prices fell last year when demand dropped because of the popularity of synthetic double knits. Taking advantage of the bargains, Japanese and other foreign buyers bought up 40% of the U.S. wool output, as well as most of Australia's production. Now double knits have become less popular; but wool is tight, and wool prices are climbing.

Cotton is the most widely used natural fiber, but long staple (quality cotton) is no longer very stable. Demand for all grades is so greatly outstripping supply that the price of raw cotton is about 65¢ a lb. v. 25¢ a year ago. In Atlanta, a decorator showing drapery samples cautions: "Don't choose anything with cotton—it's sky-high." In Bar Harbor, Me., a manufacturer of sea bags says that he is going out of business because he cannot get any more duck cloth. In San Francisco, Levi Strauss & Co. has begun informally to ration jeans and other denim goods to clothing stores. *Women's Wear Daily* predicts that manufacturers of cotton denim will not be able to accept new customers for "at least a couple of years."

**Demand for Cotton.** Exports are significantly responsible for the shortages that are forcing prices up. Some 6,000,000 bales of U.S. cotton, no less than 45% of this year's crop, will be sent abroad. The Japanese have bought about 1,800,000 bales, 2½ times their normal purchase. The U.S. Government no longer permits the Japanese to convert their huge hoard of dollars into gold, and so they are moving their money instead into such commodities as soybeans, wheat, shrimp—and cotton. In addition, China, hit by a bad crop, is buying unexpectedly large amounts of American cotton—700,000 bales this year.

The U.S. cotton crop was hurt, too, by flooding this spring. Worse yet, the Agriculture Department last winter anticipated surpluses rather than shortages, and it cut back the number of acres on which it pays its standard 15¢ a lb subsidy. That move saved the taxpayers \$100 million, but by reducing the cotton crop by 4%, it aggravated shortages and drove prices up.

Though the Agriculture Department's move was designed to help cotton farmers, most of them were angry. The reason: months ago they committed their crops for sale to brokers at prices averaging a little less than half the current levels. A minority of farmers who held out are now reaping windfall profits, as are the brokers, who bought at low prices.

As shortages become more severe, talk of export restrictions has begun to crop up. Georgia Democratic Senator Herman Talmadge is demanding controls on all commodity exports because of the cotton crisis. The U.S. learned to its sorrow earlier this year that controls on individual commodities lead to problems in other areas. When the Government slapped controls on exports of soybeans in June, foreign buyers simply put their money instead into related U.S. commodities, like peanuts and alfalfa, whose exports then had to be controlled too. A blanket program on all exports would be patently unacceptable to the Administration, which believes that export controls are unmanageable and counterproductive.

### ADVERTISING

#### The Reorganization Man

Young & Rubicam International was an old and esteemed ad agency when Edward N. Ney took charge as president and chief executive three years ago last week. Y & R was also, in its 48th year, just drowsy enough to have lost \$40 million in billings in the previous 16 months and just fat enough to be carrying hundreds of thousands of dollars a year in excess overhead. The agency needed reorganization. Ney brought in new business, pared the Madison Avenue head-office staff by 25%, and led the survivors in a quick-step cadence of work, work, work.

Now Y & R is as lean as its 6-ft. 1-in., 172-lb. boss. Worldwide billings for its clients, which include Chrysler, Goodyear, Eastern Air Lines, General Foods and Procter & Gamble, rose from \$493 million in 1970 to \$563 million in 1972. That figure automatically climbed to \$627 million with two acquisitions. Last February, Y & R bought out Sudler & Hennessy, the nation's largest ad agency in the medical-magazine field (billings: \$34 million). Last week Ney picked up Wunderman, Ricotta & Kline, which has billings of \$30 million and is the largest agency in direct-response advertising, the field in which

consumers order goods and services directly from the advertiser. The Wunderman deal lifted Y & R into the No. 1 position in domestic billings, roughly \$27 million ahead of J. Walter Thompson, which remains No. 1 worldwide with \$772 million in billings.

Next Ney plans to enter retail-store and industrial-account advertising by acquiring agencies in these fields. He also intends to branch out from advertising to product publicity and corporate public relations by developing a separate Y & R-owned p.r. firm.

To maintain this momentum, Ed Ney's people are likely to be found at their desks at 7:30 a.m. as well as at 7:30 p.m. "There are no geniuses who work from 9 to 5," says Ney in a husky voice. "If anyone here doesn't like the business, he had better get out because it is too demanding."

**Ache All Over.** That philosophy helped propel Ney, now 48, from account executive to chief of the agency's domestic branches in 1963 and president of its international division in 1968. Frequently, he visits half a dozen cities a week and calls on eight or ten clients, making a couple of speeches along the way and finding time to work for such groups as the National Urban League and the International Chamber of Commerce. When he is in New York City, he gets to the office by 7 a.m. A physical fitness enthusiast, Ney takes daily workouts in a gym or plays paddle tennis at the Racquet Club. "There are times when you ache all over from lack of sleep," he admits, but "if you like what you are doing, why not try to do it as well as you can?" For his staff, all that makes Ed Ney a tough act not to follow.

V.V.



YOUNG & RUBICAM'S EDWARD N. NEY  
Lean road to fat city.

## Five nominations for best performance.

- Best operation — with handy piano keyboard.
- Most advanced automatic sound level control.
- Most reliable shut-off at end of tape — it's automatic.
- Finest performance on batteries or AC power.
- Unique automatic battery charging — on all Craig units.

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## WALL STREET

### The Securities Snatchers

One of the great bank robberies of all time was pulled off early this month without a hint that it was happening. The loot was not cash but \$15.3 million in negotiable Treasury bills. The certificates simply vanished from a locked and guarded room at headquarters of the Chase Manhattan Bank during normal business hours. Last week the FBI and New York City detectives were still looking for the bills and for clues.

The Chase job made 1973 a banner year for Wall Street's outlaw satellite, the market in hot stocks, bonds and other securities. The total take is enormous. W. Henry DuPont, chairman of a firm that keeps track of missing securities, estimates that \$50 billion in illegitimate paper is afloat, most of it blue-chip stocks and some of it federal, state, municipal and corporate bonds. Insurance companies are the ultimate victims. They must make good to any insured bank or brokerage house that takes a loss by theft or by buying hot securities in good faith. Most banks and brokerages are covered. The individual investor can recover any losses if securities held for him by an insured bank or brokerage are stolen.

Sam Bard, a consultant to brokerages on internal-security problems, tells how the thievery developed: "The Street used to operate on a handshake. But all of a sudden, brokers had to enlarge their staffs to meet increased trading volume. The type of employees changed. Some of the new ones did not have a moral obligation to the firm. The Mob moved in at the end of 1966. As volume picked

#### WALL STREET RUNNERS DELIVERING STOCK



up still further, clerks began to make good money. Many took to gambling and got in over their heads, borrowing from Shylocks to pay their debts. Eventually they were forced to bring out securities on demand to pay the Shylocks."

Witness Patsy Lepera testified to a Senate investigating subcommittee last month that "we got to the point where we put orders in. You get what you want in 24 hours, sometimes less." Lepera added, "You could never begin to operate if you didn't have crooked bankers, crooked C.P.A.s, crooked brokers. Everybody looks the other way or they get their hand cut."

**Defaulted Loans.** The mobsters often sell the hot securities at a discount. In other cases, the Mob uses the paper to set up corporations—some legitimate, others dummies for the purpose of borrowing more money. Sometimes the mobsters use the securities as collateral for personal loans. Too many U.S. bankers, eager for business, accept these securities without checking their validity. Foreign bankers are often just as careless, accepting deposits of stolen or counterfeit stock and issuing letters of credit, which form the basis for loans from other banks. The loans are defaulted, and the mobsters pocket the cash.

Wall Street officials, municipal police and several Government agencies are on the trail of the securities snatchers, but police work is hampered by duplicated efforts and buck passing. One of the more promising steps has been taken by the New York Stock and Pacific Coast Stock Exchanges. They have begun transferring securities by bookkeeping, using a computer. This system could eventually eliminate the hand-to-hand transfer of certificates, often by messenger, a casual practice that is at the heart of most thefts.

Left to their own shifty devices, the crooks sometimes do themselves in. Swindler Louis Mastriana told the Senate subcommittee in September that he had nicked a Las Vegas casino for \$40,000 in cash, using letters of credit based on stolen stock. Before he left town, the casino took it all back from him at the craps table.

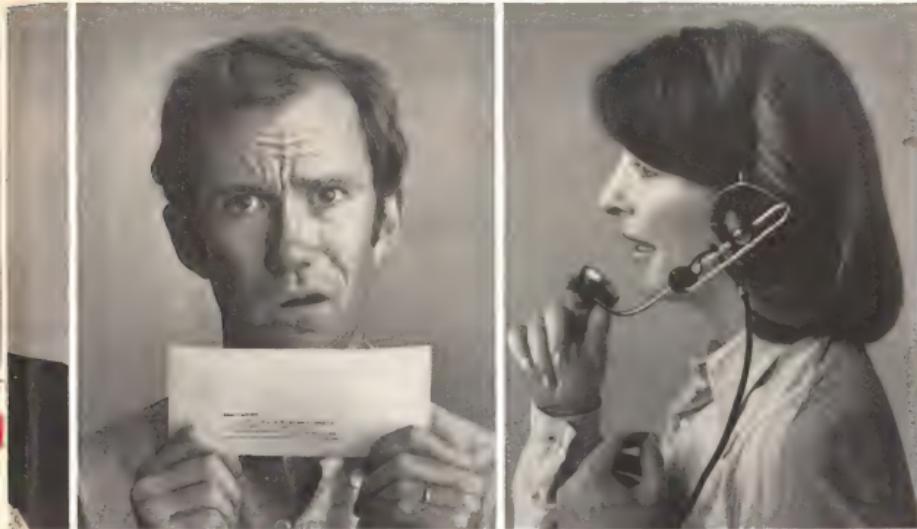
## EAST-WEST TRADE

### The Great Ripoffsky

For American businessmen, the lure of the Soviet market is so great that not even political crisis can impede their desire to sell. At the height of last month's Middle East war, when Soviet-supplied SAM missiles were chasing U.S.-made Skyhawks over the Sinai, the largest U.S. industrial exhibit ever staged in the U.S.S.R. went through its scheduled ten days as smoothly as sour cream. Just as in previous years, the enthusiasm of American exhibitors was dampened neither by staggeringly high exhibit costs nor some suspiciously detailed questions from many of the 50,000 So-



## Wrong number?



**Error on your  
phone bill?**

**We'll take  
care of it.**

If you reach a wrong number when you're dialing a toll call, let the operator know about it as soon as it happens. We'll help you get the charge removed.

If the call does turn up on your bill, or if you are charged for a call you didn't make, just call your local Bell business office.

We know mistakes can happen. A service representative will be happy to correct any that turn up on your bill.

At AT&T and your local Bell Company, we agree: you shouldn't have to pay for calls you didn't make.

**We hear you.**



## ECONOMY & BUSINESS

**The Duster Coupe is more car than the Maverick Coupe.**

**It has room for one more passenger.  
And it has half again as much trunk space.  
It offers more options.**

**It gives you more weight, which you'll notice at  
freeway speeds.**

**It has more width.**

**Duster's price is more, but not that much more.  
So, of course, this year, we've been selling more.  
Small wonder.**



CHRYSLER

Plymouth

Plymouth Duster. Plymouth

Extra care in engineering... it makes a difference.

 CHRYSLER  
MOTORS CORPORATION



**Carry your bicycle pump in your shirt pocket**

As a serious cyclist you should no longer consider the pump, an item of equipment that is outdated, can only guess at exact tire pressure. Tyre Flate fits in your shirt pocket. When tires are a little low just top them off with Tyre Flate, no effort at all. Valve releases just right amount of CO<sub>2</sub> and built-in gauge tells you exactly when you have reached right pressure. Tyre Flate weighs just 3½ oz. will inflate from scratch in no time at all and with quite a few top-offs to spare. You can also use Tyre Flate to inflate athletic equipment, air mattresses, and what have you. Buy it's engineered primarily for the serious touring cyclist, and if that's what you are you shouldn't go on another trip without Tyre Flate. It's a real gas. Order it today!

**SEND NO MONEY—Call this toll-free number** Every cycle enthusiast is a good credit risk so there is no need to send any money. Just call toll free (800) 222-3272 (in California call (415) 871-3845) and we'll send the complete Tyre Flate kit, including three CO<sub>2</sub> cartridges right out to you. Tyre Flate costs \$9.95, there is a \$1 postage and insurance charge plus sales tax for California delivery.

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San Francisco 94111  
372-1

T11203

vists (mostly technicians) who came to drink in Yankee expertise.

The U.S. businessmen knew that when the Communists bought they would buy big. So far this year, Soviet purchases from U.S. exhibitors have included \$68 million worth of Caterpillar earthmovers and \$25 million worth of International Harvester compressors and generators. At best, such sales have not come easy. One European businessman, who has been drumming in the U.S.S.R. since 1966, estimates that most sales take 18 months from "expression of interest to closing the contract." Officials of one Soviet ministry asked a U.S. company to develop a special alloy able to withstand temperatures of -58°F. for use in the Siberian oilfields. At no little expense, the company developed the alloy: the Soviets never bought.

Businessmen must also contend with elements of rip-off and racket. Rates for space at Sokolniki Park, Moscow's exposition center, are about the same as at halls in the West. But the Russians load on charges for utilities, services, security and labor that make costs three to four times higher than for a similar show in Chicago or London. At last month's exhibition, 100,000 sq. ft. of space cost \$130,000, v. about \$30,000 for the same space in the U.S. Labor rates would make capitalists blush: workmen were paid \$5 a day by the state, which charged \$30 a day for their services.

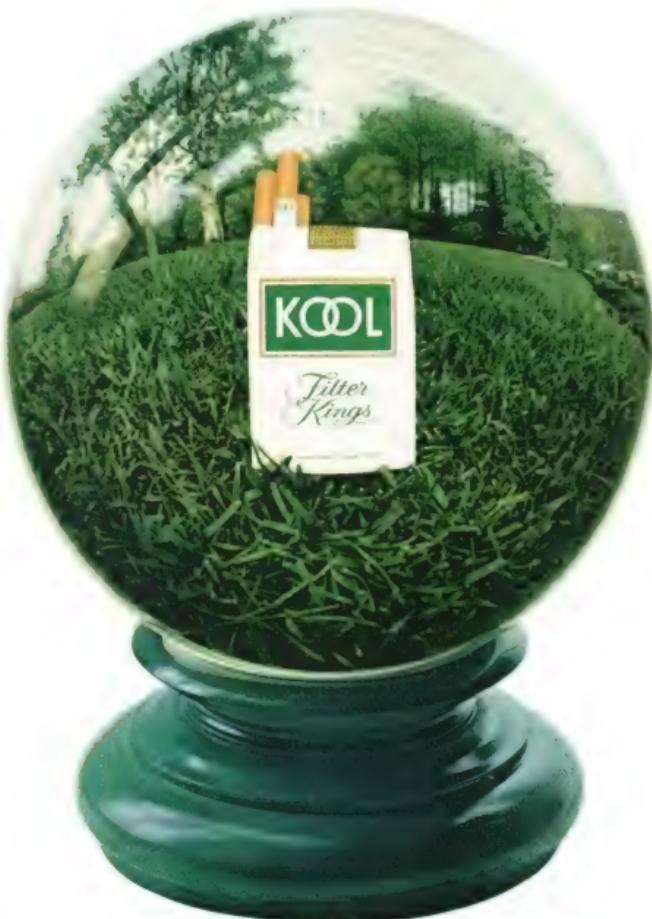
**Camera Bugs.** Soviet window-shoppers at the fairs have voracious appetites for brochures, catalogues and specification sheets—sometimes to a suspicious extent. Some exhibitors worry that their products will be copied instead of bought. Said one Houston chemical engineer at last month's fair: "I just had to plain tell them, 'Those are company secrets, my friends.'" A salesman of drilling bits complained: "They photographed our exhibit four times."

Probably the most outrageous rip-offs are "seminars," at which American exhibitors are invited to lecture. Usually they happily accept, and afterward are stuck with some unexpected bills. One engineer was charged \$300 for the rent of the hall in which he was invited to speak. Another had to pay \$100 for the interpreter that the Russian technicians in his audience had brought with them. American businessmen are likely to grimace and bear such tactics because they see still a bigger opportunity to sell to the Soviets. Russian planners, worried about their country's inferior technology, are recommending that the U.S.S.R. do more than merely buy goods. They did just that last week, announcing the purchase of a complete petrochemical plant from the C.E. Lummus Co. and Monsanto. The negotiations took over two years.

\*Translation can also be embarrassingly erroneous. At the recent exhibition, Oita Engineering Corp. wondered why its display won Soviet sigrificational prizes. The reason was that a thoughtless translator had rendered a sign saying Completions Equipment as I Equipment for Orgasms.

There's coolness in your future.

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Come all the way up to KOOL

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined  
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

16 mg. "tar," 1.3 mg. nicotine, av. per cigarette, FTC Report Sept. '73



# **Oil has become a race against time.**

No one wanted to believe that an energy crisis was coming.

It is now a reality.

Oil is the key. It provides 75% of the world's energy, and will, until practical substitutes are available. But oil today is being consumed faster than new reserves are being found.

To meet the need, the petroleum industry is being called upon to provide as much oil (and gas) in the next 10 years as in the entire preceding century.

No small task.

FMC is no idle bystander. We are involved as suppliers of equipment to the petroleum industry — very specialized equipment, and very essential.

FMC is a major supplier of wellhead flow control assemblies, which the oil people call "Christmas trees." Every well must have one, and the deeper the wells go, the more complex the controls become.

FMC Christmas trees designed for sub-sea operations are being used at record depths of 1200 feet, helping to recover oil from pools

once thought beyond reach.

Our tanker-loading systems, enabling one operator to control hydraulically the complete loading and unloading of tankers and barges, save precious turnaround time. The same principle is applied to loading tank trucks and railroad tank cars.

FMC is building intercoastal tankers powered by gas turbine engines, a new concept which may well revolutionize standards for tanker design and operation.

We also are working on petroleum substitutes, including an FMC process called "Cogas," to produce pipeline gas from coal.

The ultimate solution to the energy problem may depend upon fuels quite different from those available today; but, until then, oil must continue to be the energy lifestream of the modern world.

Our technology can be useful to those striving to close the petroleum gap.

FMC Corporation, 111 East Wacker Drive, Chicago 60601.

**FMC**

# Christmas TIME



Christmas TIME.

It's as good as rest-of-the-year TIME, except you give it for the holidays. To friends. Clients. Nephews. Business associates. And because it measures up to rest-of-the-year TIME, you know what kind of gift it will make. Informative. Entertaining. Enlightening.

With 25 separate departments that make TIME one gift with something for everyone on your holiday list.

One thing that is different

about Christmas TIME is the price. Just \$10 for each one-year gift you give.

Compared to TIME's regular \$14-a-year subscription rate. (We won't even bill you until after the New Year.)

We'll send you handsome cards to announce each gift subscription. And of course we'll make sure your friends get TIME itself each week, a full 52 issues right through 1974. All you have to do is fill in the attached gift order card and put it in the mail. (For faster service, phone toll-free: 800-621-8200; in Illinois, 800-972-8302.)

So this Christmas-time, consider our Christmas TIME. It's really just rest-of-the-year TIME spruced up and priced down for holiday giving. But, oh, what a holiday gift it makes!

## Touchstones

ALISTAIR COOKE'S AMERICA

by ALISTAIR COOKE

400 pages. Knopf. \$15.

Alistair Cooke is an amiable and intelligent Englishman whose journalistic duties require him to explain to the Old World the behavior of Americans. He is also one of those Europeans who, to the utter astonishment of the natives, seem to like the U.S. very much.

This book, a beautifully illustrated historical sketch of the U.S., was made from materials gathered for his much

paper the human content of what he sees. Here he is on Franklin Roosevelt, who was paralyzed by polio at 39: "Yet, throughout the twelve years of his presidency, the press, including the invertebrate smart alecks among the still and newsreel photographers, respected a convention unlikely to be honored today; they never photographed him in movement. I saw him once being lifted out of his car like a sack of potatoes, and put on his feet, and given two sticks and two helping hands, and his hat stuck on his head for him. This was not the Roosevelt the public saw. They saw the burly upper body, the bull-like neck, and

an oddly cheerful painting by a 19th century Chinese of George Washington ascending to heaven.

Cooke's last chapter is titled "The More Abundant Life." He sees the bright truth and the ironic falsity of that phrase. There is a strong sense in his summation that the U.S. is a kind of Distant Early Warning system for the rest of the world. His book, in fact, has the feel of a memorial, and perhaps that is a key to its charm. Cooke's *America* is really a handful of well-polished touchstones for those who know this country's history well.

■ John Skow

CO KENTWEESTEN



ALISTAIR COOKE (WITH F.D.R.)

*A Distant Early Warning system for the rest of the world.*

praised 13-part TV series done for the BBC and Time-Life Films: *America: A Personal History of the United States*. The author's knowledge and his generosity of spirit are evident throughout.

Still, a complaint must be made. Obviously Cooke assumes that his readers have no solid grasp of U.S. history. In this he is certainly correct. His solution, though, is to cover the whole subject in a chalk-talk. This he might have done, and usefully, but not in a 400-page book. Among the subjects not mentioned are the Spanish-American War, the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, the building of the Erie Canal, the suffragettes, baseball, universal secondary education and the establishment of the land-grant colleges, the writing of Thoreau, Melville, Twain, O'Neill, Faulkner, Fitzgerald and Hemingway.

What Cooke does include is very good indeed. He is not simply an urbane purveyor of condensed data but a reporter, with a gift for getting down on



WASHINGTON ASCENDING INTO HEAVEN

the tossing head, the confident saviour of the republic in a dark time."

He also finds space for an elderly immigrant's recollection of Ellis Island "Din, confusion, bewilderment, madness!" There is a memorable sting to his words about the Supreme Court. The Justices, he writes, "have proclaimed the right to keep blacks and whites apart on trains and then, decades later, proclaimed the right of blacks to sit with whites on trains . . . They had interpreted the letter of the Constitution to say . . . that the individual's rights are imperiled when an oil company gobbles up its competitors."

The illustrations include fine, haunting photos of a hungry Kansas farm family in front of their sod hut in the 1880s, and of young, self-consciously warlike Confederate soldiers posing in their first uniforms. There are paintings of a wagon on train, a cancerous color photo of cars and advertising signs turning a Tucson street into the seventh circle of hell, and

## Vile Bodies Revisited

AS IF BY MAGIC

by ANGUS WILSON

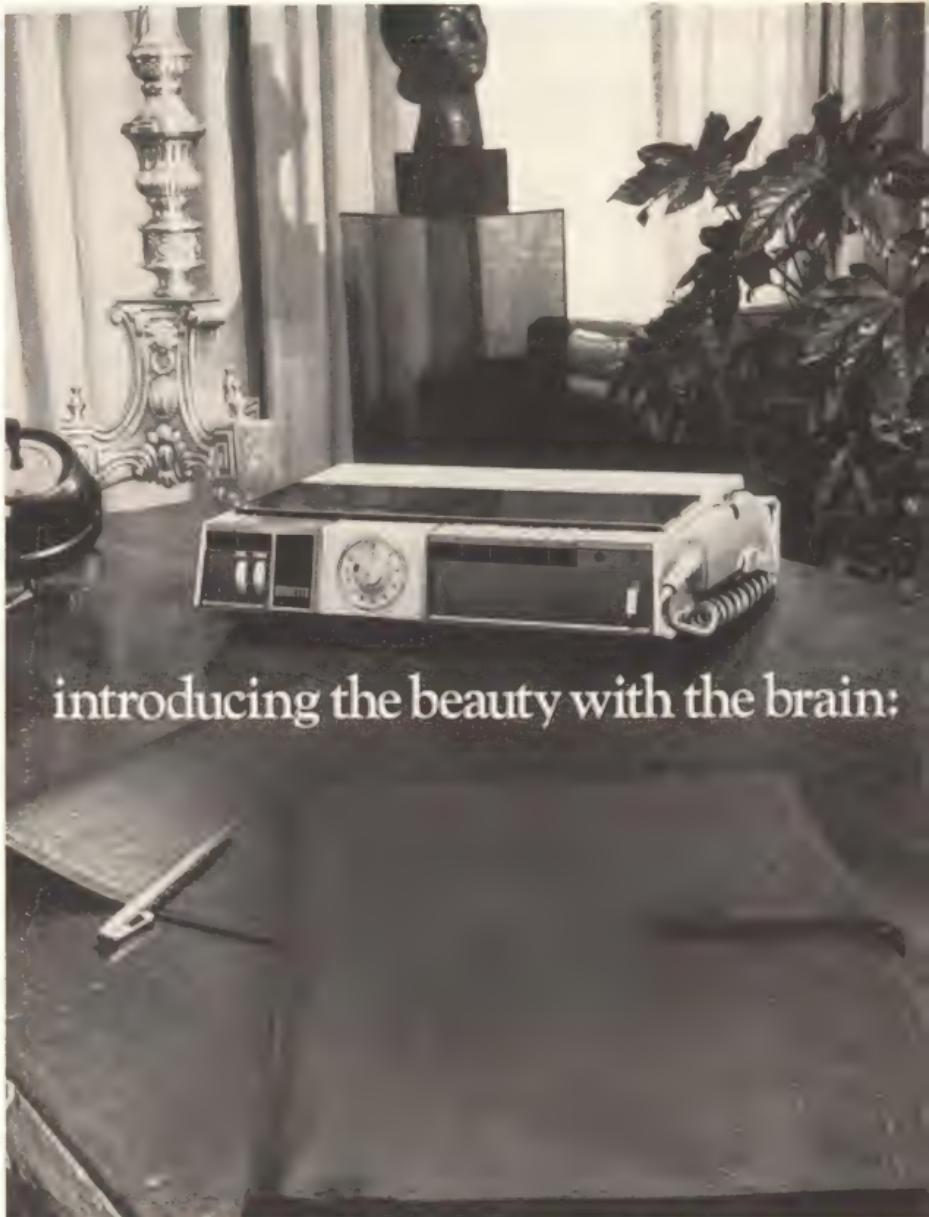
415 pages. Viking. \$8.95.

Angus Wilson seemed to begin where Evelyn Waugh and Aldous Huxley left off. It was as if he had been born a middle-aged comedian, clever but desolate. For him there was no initial period when a young satirist simply functions: a predatory animal savagely but happily on the hunt.

What does a very funny writer do whose laughter is always choking into a retch? Among other stratagems, Wilson has tried to revive the well-made Victorian novel (see *The Middle Age of Mrs Eliot*). He has sketched portraits of the very old and the very young (*Late Call*). He has even attempted essays in mysticism (*The Old Men at the Zoo*).

*As If By Magic* is a little of all of these, but curiously—Wilson, after all, is now 60—it reads more like the early Waugh-Huxley novel the author never got to write. In spirit it may well be his most youthful book. As with Huxley, there is an "idea" at bottom. Hamo Langmuir, a famous British plant breeder, is off on a VIP tour to see how his hybrid rice, nicknamed "Magic," is faring as England's gift to the Green Revolution. Hamo's goddaughter, Alexandra, is following rather the same route. Hers is the sort of pilgrimage 21-year-old girls from middle-class Anglo-American homes embarked upon in the late 1960s, involving swarms in India and communes in Morocco, with Tolkien as an all-sufficient Baedeker of the soul. In Goa, these two breeds of latter-day magician, the scientist and the hippie, cross paths. For an instant each one senses a promise of salvation in the other before Hamo goes to his death at the hands of an Indian mob and the girl returns to England to inherit a fortune.

Like Huxley, Wilson can become an abstract moralist. The reader meets hungry masses rather than hungry people. But in his gaffy or Waughspian capacity Wilson achieves top form. *As If By Magic* is rich in stock (but not too stock) characters: Japanese businessmen, Ger-



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## BOOKS

man tourists. English eccentrics. American divorcees who look like failed Myrna Loy's.

Above all, Wilson is a master of dialogue. Even when he cannot make a character live, he can always make him talk. Wilson people talk about Russian novels and sex, the Third World and God. Give them notice, or no notice at all, and they will do a turn on Marxism or produce a passable limerick. For these vile bodies of the '70s are as restless in the spirit as in the flesh.

What Wilson finally articulates is the tormented, muddled idealism behind doing your own thing. Nobody has taken the comedy of being contemporary more seriously. Wilson's practical and moral conclusion: "You have to be very strong for games." It is a compliment the novelist deserves to share.

■ Melvin Maddocks

## The Girls' Realm

A DIFFERENT WOMAN

by JANE HOWARD

413 pages. E.P. Dutton. \$7.95.

Jane Howard took notes the first time she smoked pot. She is that sort of person, on the testimony of this busy autobiographical journal: clever, organized, earnest, eternally self-conscious. She is also only 38, and so her book is a kind of interim report.

It is swiftly apparent, though, that nothing comes easily to Jane Howard except accomplishment. It has taken her the better part of two decades, however, to disentangle herself from childhood and, in particular, from the ghost of a conventional, cheery, saintly, disapproving Midwestern mother. Nor has it been easy for her, despite much consciousness raising, to wear female adulthood with comfort. She is a chronic stocktaker, and it is fairly clear that what she saw when she began to put this interim report together gave her no great pleasure: a good reporter, a financial success, a useful friend, housebroken house guest, amusing aunt, attractive heterosexual single woman, and an occasional partner in civilized love affairs that did not last.

In the early 1970s, as a writer for LIFE, she began to travel back and forth across the U.S. talking to all sorts of women. Strong currents of discontent were already running. Were women finding new roles or clinging to the old ones, and with what degree of satisfaction? Like a great many of those she talked to, Jane Howard had no usable models for the kind of person she wanted to be. The old male stereotypes are a rough fit, if soaked overnight to soften them: be strong (but don't be afraid to show weakness), be aggressive (but don't be a pig about it), be rational (but let the emotions flow). Female stereotypes are not so easily remodeled. It makes no real sense to urge that women be submissive (but not too submissive), flowerlike (but not

# She needs your love.



CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND, INC.  
BELO HORIZONTE, BRAZIL - CASEWORKER REPORT  
TO FAMILY HELPER PROJECT, SAO DOMINGOS

NAME: MARTA MARIA DA SILVA

AGE: 4½ YEARS NATIVE PLACE: BELO HORIZONTE

ORDER OF BIRTH: LAST CHILD (LIVING)

HEALTH: FAIR, VITAMIN DEPRIVED WITH POSSIBLE DAMAGE TO HER EYESIGHT. CUTS AND BRUISES ON BACK & LEGS.

CHARACTERISTICS: CHEERFUL, BRIGHT, AFFECTIONATE, SPEAKS WITH SLIGHT LISP.

PARENTS CONDITION:

FATHER: BLIND, ASKS ALMS ON THE STREETS.

MOTHER: DECEASED. DIED IN CHILDBIRTH (INFANT STILLBORN).

INVESTIGATION REPORT:

MARTA'S FATHER SUFFERED FROM AN ILLNESS SEVERAL YEARS AGO WHICH LEFT HIM BLIND. HE CAN GET ONLY A FEW PENNIES A DAY FROM BEGGING. HE CANNOT TAKE CARE OF, OR PROTECT HIS CHILDREN. HOME SITUATION BAD. THERE IS LIVING WITH THE FAMILY AN "UNCLE" WHO IS CRUEL AND IS SUSPECTED OF TAKING ADVANTAGE OF, AND BEATING THE BOYS (MARTA'S OLDER BROTHERS), SO FAR ONLY PUNISHES MARTA. FATHER PITIFUL IN HIS PLEA THAT WE HELP MARTA. HE IS TERRIFIED AT WHAT MAY BECOME OF HER. BEGS US TO HELP SO THEY CAN MOVE AWAY FROM UNCLE'S HOUSE. (HUT APPEARS TO BELONG TO THIS UNCLE.)

HOME CONDITIONS:  
HOUSE: TWO ROOM HUT OCCUPIED BY MARTA, HER TWO BROTHERS, HER FATHER AND A MAN THEY CALL UNCLE WHOSE ACTUAL RELATIONSHIP TO THE FAMILY IS NOT CLEAR. THE UNCLE IS A BRUTAL MAN AND IT APPEARS LIKELY HIS "PUNISHMENTS" ACCOUNT FOR THE BRUISES & CUTS ON MARTA. FATHER FEARS THE UNCLE BUT BEING BLIND IS UNABLE TO DO ANYTHING. HOUSE IS DIRTY - NO SANITATION OR RUNNING WATER.

BROTHERS: ALMIRO FELIX DA SILVA - AGE 8 YEARS  
ANTONIO ADRIANO DA SILVA - AGE 7 YEARS

REMARKS: IN SPITE OF BAD HOME LIFE, MARTA IS A TRUSTING, SWEET CHILD, BUT SOON SHE MUST CHANGE IF HELP DOESN'T COME. FATHER IS EAGERLY WILLING TO COOPERATE IN ALL WAYS IF CCF CAN FIND SPONSOR FOR MARTA AND ENROLL HER IN FHP PROGRAM.

URGENT: RECOMMEND IMMEDIATE ACCEPTANCE INTO CCF SAO DOMINGOS FHP.



Every day our workers overseas receive reports like this one on Marta (her real name is not used to protect her future).

And then our staff must make the difficult decision—which child can we help? And which child must be turned away? Little Marta is one of the lucky ones. An American such as you became her sponsor and Marta was enrolled in a CCF Family Helper Project.

These Projects help children from widowed, impoverished and broken homes remain with their families. Under the guidance of a trained caseworker, CCF youngsters receive supplementary food and clothing, medical care, school books, family guidance and a variety of special services.

And of course, Marta is only one example of thousands of youngsters around the

world who desperately need your assistance.

For only \$12 a month you can sponsor a child like Marta. Just fill out the coupon and mail it with your first monthly check. In about two weeks you will receive a photo and personal history of the child you are helping.

Your sponsored child will write to you and a housemother or staff worker will send you the original letter and an English translation, direct from overseas.

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## BOOKS

wait to be picked), devoted nest builders (but go forth and confront the world).

The author's conditioning was not much help. Once, she writes, her mother quizzed her about a man she had mentioned. "Well," I began, "he went to Yale Law School . . ." He sounds wonderful, declared my mother. Her curiosity was sated. "When Mrs. Howard muttered—about an unchaperoned weekend—that things were not done that way in her day, the dialogue stopped." "Please," I never could quite bring myself to implore, tell me how you're supposed to do it. Not how to be an English major, not how to work up a good case of guilt, not how to be career-oriented, but how to live! . . . I suppose if she had known she would



## FDR sat here.

At the age of 39, Franklin Delano Roosevelt contracted polio. He went to bed one night feeling ill, and in the morning he couldn't get up. He couldn't walk.

He had a handicap. And yet, seven years later, he became governor of New York. Eleven years later, President of the United States.

He led the country out of the dark days of the depression, and still in a wheelchair, through the bitter years of a world war.

He was obviously as smart sitting down as he was standing up. And he was willing to work hard enough to prove it to himself and to the people of America.

Today, there are millions of Americans with physical and mental disabilities. Millions of people with handicaps. And they, too, realize that they have to prove themselves.

But all too often, they don't get the chance.

They don't get the understanding they need to gain the confidence to ask for a break. Or they find the physical barriers to entering and leaving buildings, or to using public transportation, so discouraging that they don't even try.

And this is a tragic waste. This is the real handicap.

What can you do to help? You can take the time to think. You can take the trouble to understand. You can give these people your confidence, so they can have confidence in themselves. And you can give them the same chance you'd give anyone else.

Then, when you've given all this, you can do one final thing. You can stop thinking of them as handicapped. And start thinking of them as friends and neighbors, as people with talent and a contribution to make to the world.

Isn't it about time we stopped handicapping the handicapped?



JANE HOWARD

"I have the feeling I'm on hold."

have told me, or the word would have got around somehow."

Almost everyone Jane met was willing to tell her how to live. "Hey, did anyone see three index cards with the Groovy Orgasm speech notes on them?" somebody yelled at a sex clinic. She visited a fisherman on the West Coast, a Tupperware lady in New England, various militants and separatists, a rich assortment of discontented wives, and a few who were not. Not many of the reports are reassuring. The writer's own sister, who is married and likes it that way, said, "What can anyone say of me other than 'Isn't she wonderful?' She's so together she remembered to put on both her shoes. I have the feeling I'm on hold."

Few of the women in the book are making as civilized sense out of their lives as the troubled author, who manages a becoming blend of pride and resignation. Unfortunately, this impressive woman reaches the end of her book with some fairly shoddy new stereotypes. Men and women have drifted

The U.S. Department of Health,  
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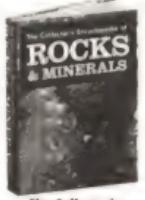
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## BOOKS

apart, she notes. "To fill the vacuum their absence creates, most of us have become more vital and imaginative and resourceful than most of them. We are also funnier." The other half of the autobiography is still to be lived, however, and when Jane Howard gets around to it, it may be that advancing years, as sometimes happens, will cure the subject of a slight myopia. ■J.S.

### Tasty No-Qual

THE SCARLET RUSE  
318 pages. Fawcett. \$1.25.

THE TURQUOISE LAMENT  
286 pages. Lippincott. \$6.95.  
by JOHN D. MACDONALD

An absolutely worthless novel refreshes the spirit as little else can. Reading one is the literary equivalent of retreating to the cellar with a jug. Naturally it is not easy to find a good worthless novel, but this month the reader with a November in his soul is in luck. John D. MacDonald, the nation's best writer of no-quail crime fantasies, has turned out two splendid and utterly unmeritorious volumes.

*The Scarlet Ruse* and *The Turquoise Lament* are the 14th and 15th installments of MacDonald's serially published dream manual about the beachboy Hamlet, Travis McGee. This paladin is a roughneck who lives on a houseboat in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., despoiling stewardesses and brooding about the decline of the West. He quests forth, when funds are low, to do battle for the dread forces of reality—Robin Hood among chattel rustlers who steals loot back from thugs and swindlers and returns it, minus a 50% commission, to the widows and orphans from whom it was taken. Often times the game is to guess whether she is a thug, swindler, widow or orphan.

The McGee mixture is an agreeable blend of boat lore, suspense, machismo, sex and lighthearted sadism. *The Scarlet Ruse* turns on the theft of \$500,000 worth of rare postage stamps. In *The Turquoise Lament*, McGee learns that a thieving Florida lawyer blocks the forward progress of justice—and of the plot. He invades the miscreant's country estate, eases him from the middle of a disgraceful orgy, binds him and drops him live into a freshly dug backwoods grave—a marvel of vengeful fantasy. Lawyers are the schoolyard bullies of modern society, against whom no ordinary child dares battle, and here is one of them with fear in his heart and swamp water in his ears, lying at the bottom of a mucky hole and spilling out his guilt to McGee.

Such gratification is worth a lot to anyone fumbling among paperback sleazies in bus-station bookracks. Yet, until now, it has not cost much. MacDonald was an old penny-a-liner, with 50 or 60 paperback thunderbolts behind him, before he began the Travis



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If you want to know more about us, please write: African Wildlife, 1717 Massachusetts Ave. N. W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

PHOTO BY KIM HERTEL

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And here is the operational breakthrough that distinguishes the Murac Micromatic: it's a one-button instrument. Yes, in contrast to anything that you have ever seen before, one button does it all—recording, playback, fast forward or rewind. Even to pause temporarily in recording or playback, while you gather your thoughts, is done with a hold button and with just one finger. No complicated interlocks, no cumbersome buttons or keys—it's a real breakthrough and convenience.

Naturally, the Murac Micromatic uses standard 1 or 2 hr. cassettes available anywhere. It's great for taping lectures and conferences. Its built-in 3-digit counter lets you locate any segment of the tape fast and accurately.

With the Murac Micromatic you may use any standard cassette tape player for transcription. No need to tie up the machine itself or use specialized transcribing equipment. When traveling, just dictate and mail your tape. Naturally, if you prefer, you can use the Murac Micromatic itself for transcribing.

This remarkable instrument is simply loaded with features. Here are some others: ■ Built-in IC line amplifier for perfect recording any time ■ Easy-load pop-up cassette door ■ Built-in battery strength meter ■ Built-in recording level guide. Input Jack for remote control mike. Output jack for earphones or speaker ■ AC adapter for playing through AC outlets ■ Uses four standard batteries.

The best surprise, perhaps, about the Murac Micromatic is the price: it's just \$99.95, less than you would expect to pay for an old-fashioned recorder. Compare this with other recorders selling for \$150 or more.

Standard equipment for the Murac Micromatic is: ■ the AC adapter ■ earphone ■ set of four batteries ■ one blank cassette ■ vinyl carry case with lanyard.

352-2



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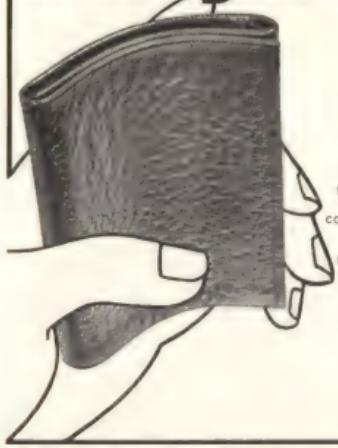
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## BOOKS

McGee series more than a decade ago.

The experiment of issuing MacDonald in hardback (*The Turquoise Lament*) is not progress. Few artifacts are as needless as hardback crime stories. Still, those who lose a day from their lives whenever a new McGee mystery appears will no doubt continue to do so. (The McGee series has sold more than 14 million paperback volumes, and MacDonald's income has been estimated at \$100,000 a year.) To understand why, consider the portrait on the covers of the new novels. Each cover shows a view of the formidable McGee, leathery, curly-haired and, say, a rugged 37.

Much of Travis McGee's appeal is due to his point of view, which is one of slightly disaffected middle age. He may be 6 ft. 4 in., a weapons expert and a former N.F.L. tight end (as who is not, in fantasy?). But he gripes constantly, with some style, about the sex habits of kids, the rapaciousness of land developers, and the gaudy promises of the consumer society. He remembers a time when Florida's coastal waters were almost clean. He has known a few good women, true-blue but now long gone.

What better barge on to which to ride out male climacteric than McGee's houseboat *Busted Flush* (won in a poker game), with its pasha's bed, four-nozzle shower, 1,100-mile range and capacious tanks full of nostalgia and contempt? This time MacDonald gives McGee and his brainy friend Meyer (a retired financier who lives aboard the good ship *John Maynard Keynes*) some fine autumnal soliloquies.

Let no man say that this is escapist claptrap. MacDonald offers something far more profound, the claptrap of no way out.

■ J.S.

## Best Sellers

### FICTION

- 1-Burr, Vidal (2 last week)
- 2-The Honorary Consul, Greene (1)
- 3-The First Deadly Sin, Sanders (3)
- 4-The Hollow Hills, Stewart (4)
- 5-Come Nineveh, Come Tyre, Drury (7)
- 6-The Salamander, West (5)
- 7-World Without End, Amen, Breslin (6)
- 8-A Thousand Summers, Kanin
- 9-Theophilus North, Wilder (8)
- 10-The Low Sanction, Trevorian

### NONFICTION

- 1-Alastair Cooke's America, Cooke (4)
- 2-How to Be Your Own Best Friend, Newman & Berkowitz (2)
- 3-Pentimento, Hellman (3)
- 4-The Joy of Sex, Comfort (1)
- 5-The Onion Field, Wambough (5)
- 6-Upstairs at the White House, West with Kotz (9)
- 7-Cromwell: The Lord Protector, Fraser (10)
- 8-Cosell, Cosell (8)
- 9-The Art of Walt Disney, Finch (6)
- 10-Portrait of a Marriage, Nicolson (7)



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*Harry Trump was the most reasonable of bridge guests.*

*He demanded only two things.  
New cards and Early Times.*

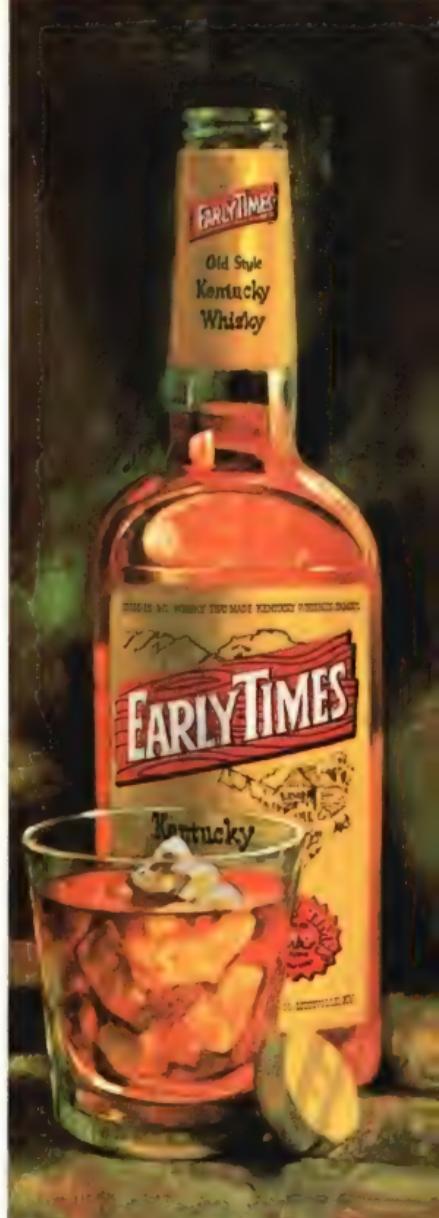
*Emil Frostbutt knew this.*

*On September 28, 1972, the cards  
in Frostbutt's posh game room were  
still in the cellophane.*

*But the bourbon.....  
for some never-to-be-determined  
reason, Frostbutt had not  
ordered Early Times.*

*That night, for the first time  
in years, Emil Frostbutt played  
bridge without Harry.*

*No Early Times.  
No Trump.*



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SCULPTOR NAGARE &amp; INNER SPACE

## Please Touch

Sharp-edged as a sword, erect as a phallus, spare as a symbol, the sculptures of Japan's Masayuki Nagare make even the generous dimensions of Manhattan's Staempfli Gallery seem cramped. They soar through the ceiling, project invisible backdrops of misted mountains against an opaline sea. Within themselves, around themselves, they create their own space. At the age of 50, Nagare has become clearly one of the world's major sculptors.

Perhaps some of Nagare's authority comes from his close acquaintance with death as well as life. At 20, he was a kamikaze pilot. Fortunately, World War II ended before he flew a suicide mission, but while waiting, he picked up a stone, fondled its shape and texture, and never forgot the experience. Since then, he has seldom been out of stone's reach.

The son of a rich Kyoto banker and educator, Nagare had no need for immediate income after the war, and spent ten years in remote villages working with stonemasons. Then in 1955 he had his first show in Tokyo—and sold nothing at all. But over the next several years, visiting Americans began to buy his works—Architects Philip Johnson and Marcel Breuer, Collectors William Paley and Joseph Hirshhorn.

Suddenly, architects both Japanese and American decided that a Nagare was just what they needed for their plazas, and he was overwhelmed with commissions. A Nagare dominates the plaza of San Francisco's Bank of America headquarters; a huge new sculpture will soon be installed at the entry of Manhattan's World Trade Center.

After a long unsettled period, Nagare established his private world ten years ago. His first wife, also an artist, loved the excitement of To-

kyo. Nagare, brought up among Kyoto's temples, never did. When they parted in 1966, he bought himself a peninsula on the island of Shikoku, 360 miles southwest of Tokyo. There he built a studio and house. Last February he installed a new bride, Hiroko, a fashion designer, who is also from Kyoto. They live in a thoroughly Western mode—bacon and eggs for breakfast, blue jeans and shirt for work.

With his life,

Nagare's artistic style has changed. In his bachelor years between marriages, he conceived a stylized image of a kimonoed man in contemplation (*Thoughts and Angles*), derived from youthful memories of his apprenticeship in a Zen temple. Long contemplation also produced the series he calls *Bachi*, reflecting the shape of the pick with which Jap-

anese geishas play the samisen. Actually, Nagare says, "*Bachi* tells the importance of being broad-minded. The lines spread out as they climb higher."

The current show is dominated by new, thrusting, pillar-like sculptures, which Nagare labels with obscurantist titles like *Time and Motion*. Some critics have decided that these dramatic works spring from Nagare's brief career as a maker of samurai swords. That may be, but Nagare himself takes no interest in the sword theory. Says he: "The only way possible to prevent myself from being overwhelmed by the great glories of nature at Shikoku is to turn incessantly erotic." Each time he sculpts a male image, he counters it by making something female, like a small piece that started as an image of growth inspired by the classical Japanese temple gate and ended as a powerful straddle of procreation called *Inner Space*.

Is there anything wrong in being "incessantly erotic," abstract as the resulting images may be? Not to Nagare. As he admits, he has become shortsighted, and with his new glasses "I see pores on ladies' faces I did not know were there. But my fingertips are never wrong. So I pay more attention to texture." He spends hours and hours polishing the stone to produce surfaces both beautiful and sensuous. In fact, at the Staempfli there is a sign up saying "Please Touch." That is as it should be.

■ A.T. Baker



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COOK & MOORE IN EVENING

## THE THEATER

### Stark-Raving Bonkers

#### GOOD EVENING

A revue by and with PETER COOK and DUDLEY MOORE

Close to the midseason mark, Broadway has been parched for laughs. Well, the drought is over. A comic geyser is flooding the Plymouth Theater with hilarity. Two British zanies, Peter Cook and Dudley Moore, have released it, and these men are stark-raving bonkers. Cook, the tall one, has the imperturbable aplomb of a tightly furled umbrella. Moore, the short one, scurries round like a libidinous opossum. Employing literate wit and razor-edged satire, the pair take off on the Nativity, a homosexual Othello, Germaine Greer's theories on Women's Lib and the perils of running a two-course restaurant on the English moors. They make these and other unlikely subjects unconsciously funny.

Cook and Moore first triumphed in New York eleven years ago as part of a demented foursome that collaborated on *Beyond the Fringe* (the others: Jonathan Miller and Alan Bennett). Three of the classic skits from that show are being reprised in *Good Evening*. There is the one-legged actor who, hopping across the floor kangaroo-fashion, applies to a producer for the role of Tarzan. Moore, who is also an adept pianist, parodies half a dozen great composers as they might have written the *Colonel Bogey March*, and Cook does his lugubriously farcical monologue about the miner who dreamed of becoming a judge. A good *Good Evening*, indeed, with the cheeriest imaginable company. ■ T.E. Kalem

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